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Led Across the Danube: Interactions between Rome and the Danubian-Pontic Peoples in the first two centuries AD

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Declaration

The thesis is the candidate's own work except where it contains work based on collaborative research, in which case the nature and extent of the author's individual contribution is indicated. This thesis has not been submitted for a degree at another university. Parts of it have been published as an article, 'Movement, the Senses and Representations of the Roman World: Experiencing the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias' in *Exchanges: the Warwick Research Journal*, 3.2, 2016, 157-184.

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Abstract

This thesis explores perceptions of the Danubian-Pontic regions in the first two centuries AD and how Rome interacted with the communities of the regions. These areas cannot be assigned simply to an east versus west dicotomy. In Roman texts, the notions of kingship held by the different inhabitants in these regions are displayed differently, with varying degrees of centralised rule or tribes. Thus, the regions lend themselves to study comparisons between how the Roman State viewed and presented different communities, and how it interacted with them, from waging wars to friendly interactions depending on time and circumstance. Therefore, comparisons can also be made between how diplomacy and the military were used in dealing with these communities, and how this affected Rome's presentation of them, and these people's reactions to Rome.

It investigates how different types of evidence could affect how the peoples of the region were presented. An examination of 'geographical literature' demonstrates how past ideas about peoples could remain, even as contact increased. However, this was often due to the agenda of individual authors and literary *topoi*. Consideration of how monumental artwork was experienced shows that the messages which the audiences took away about the world were not universal. Military interactions changed how the peoples on the edges of the world were presented. It will be examined how people from the Danubian-Pontic regions would interact with new surroundings to form new identities when removed from their homeland. Diplomatic contacts and how the Roman state would use the language and practices of *amicitia* when dealing with the peoples of this region will also be investigated. It will also ask how important Rome was to the communities of the Danubian-Pontic regions, how they reacted to the neighbouring empire, and how integrated these communities could become into the Roman world.



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Abbreviations

Abbreviations generally follow those used by the Oxford Classical Dictionary, 4th edition (2012) and L'Annee Philologique.

<i>AE</i>	<i>L'Année Épigraphique</i> , published in <i>Revue Archéologique</i> and separately (1888–)
<i>Anokhin</i>	V. Anokhin, <i>Monetnoe delo Bosfora</i> (1986)
<i>AshLI</i>	A. Cooley, <i>Ashmolean Latin Inscriptions</i> (2018–)
<i>BÉ</i>	<i>Bulletin épigraphique</i> , pub. in <i>Revue des études grecques</i>
<i>CIL</i>	<i>Corpus Inscriptionum Latinarum</i> (1863–)
<i>CIRB</i>	V. Struve, <i>Corpus Inscriptionum Regni Bospori</i> (1965–)
<i>I.Cos</i>	M. Serge, <i>Inscrizioni di Cos</i> (1993–2007)
<i>IDRE</i>	I. Russu and others, <i>Inscriptiones Daciae Romanae</i> (1975–)
<i>IG</i>	<i>Inscriptiones Graecae</i> (1873–)
<i>ILCV</i>	E. Diehl, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Christianae veteres</i> (1925–31)
<i>ILS</i>	H. Dessau, <i>Inscriptiones Latinae Selectae</i> (1892–1916)
<i>IosPE I²</i>	B. Latyshev, <i>Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini graecae et latinae</i> (1895–1901), Vol. 1, 2nd edn., <i>Inscriptiones Tyriae, Olbiae, Chersonesi Tauricae</i> , (1916)
<i>IvEph</i>	H. Wankel et al., <i>Die Inschriften von Ephesos</i> (1979–1984)
<i>OGIS</i>	W. Dittenberger, <i>Orientis Graeci Inscriptiones Selectae</i> (1903)
<i>PIR</i>	<i>Prosopographia Imperii Romani Saeculi I, II, III</i> , 1st edn. by E. Klebs and H. Dessau (1897–8); 2nd edn. by E. Groag, A. Stein, and others (1933–)
<i>RIB</i>	R. G. Collingwood, R. P. Wright, and others, <i>The Roman Inscriptions of Britain</i> (1965–)
<i>RIC</i>	H. Mattingly, E. A. Sydenham, and others <i>Roman Imperial Coinage</i> (1923–67); rev. edn. of vol. 1 only, C. H. V. Sutherland and R. A. G. Carson (1984)

<i>RMD</i>	M. Roxan, <i>Roman Military Diplomas</i> (1985-)
<i>RPC</i>	<i>Roman Provincial Coinage</i> (1992-)
<i>SEG</i>	<i>Supplementum epigraphicum Graecum</i> (1923–)
<i>SHA Antoninus Pius</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae Antoninus Pius</i>
<i>SHA Hadrian</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae Hadrian</i>
<i>SHA Gallieni Duo</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae Gallieni Duo</i>
<i>SHA Verus</i>	<i>Scriptores Historiae Augustae Lucius Verus</i>

Chapter 1: Introduction

This thesis explores perceptions of the world in the first two centuries AD and how Rome interacted with the peoples on the north-eastern fringes of that world, namely around the Danube and northern Black Sea regions. It asks what affected how the people who lived in this region were represented in Roman literature and artwork, and how these representations, created identities and past contacts in turn affected how the Roman state chose to deal with their neighbours, and how they saw themselves.

The region contained a variety of societies, from tribal societies ruled by chieftains, to 'friendly' or 'client' kingdoms. How Rome interacted with these peoples differed greatly over time and circumstance. The Roman state waged war against and eventually annexed the Dacian people, while the Bosporans remained independent for much of their history. Therefore, comparisons can be made between how diplomacy and the military were used in dealing with these communities, and how this affected Rome's presentation of them, as well as peoples' reactions to Rome. Moreover, comparisons can also be made between how the Roman state chose to depict and interact with the leaders of these communities. The Dacians were originally a nomadic people with a seemingly tribal society, whereas the Pontic kingdoms had long-established ideas of rulers who had interacted with the Roman state for a long time before the first two centuries AD (See 1.1). Yet, the language used in the surviving sources and the practices described would seem to imply that despite different notions of kingship and different types of society existing, the Roman state chose to interact with the 'kings' of both peoples in similar ways. Furthermore, this area is also interesting because it cannot clearly be pushed into an east versus west dichotomy. Anca Dan described the Balkans "as a symbol of mixing contacts and of movement" and strongly argued against seeing the region as a limit between the north-western Roman empire

which spoke Latin, and the south-eastern Greek-speaking areas.¹ This thesis will demonstrate that how the Roman state divided the peoples of the world, created identities for them, and interacted with its neighbours beyond the peripheries was exceedingly complex, with multiple factors interacting, and that past models which divided the Roman world into clear-cut categories are thus, insufficient. This work uses Social Constructivism theories from International Relation Studies in order to demonstrate that contacts with people and the identities created for them in the past could also greatly influence future representations and interactions. Furthermore, comparing how the Roman state interacted with these different communities, yet still had processes in place to incorporate them into the Empire and its different groups will demonstrate that those outside of the administrative control of the Roman state were not immediately cast as 'other' and neither did they remain so.

Exploring how the Roman state, its authors and its citizens chose to react to and depict the people from outside the Empire over time also helps explore both modern and ancient conceptions of what it was to be 'Roman.' Identity will play a key part in this investigation and it should be noted that individuals could have multiple identities at once, depending on place, time and context. However, it should also be mentioned that the identities given to ancient groups or individuals by modern audiences are likely different to those which were used at the time. This thesis will explore how ideas of 'the other' and who this applied to were created, and how being in contrast to such 'otherness' allowed individuals to group together as 'us.' For instance, the Dacians were presented as enemies, conquered subjects, and finally citizens of the Roman Empire or local communities depending on time and circumstance. Such a re-negotiating and re-presenting of 'the other' as 'us' would therefore affect how people of the Roman world saw themselves.

¹ Dan (2015) p.145.

Therefore, the work will also explore how changeable such perceived identities were in order to demonstrate the complexities of defining who was and who was not 'Roman.'

Anca Dan convincingly argued in 2015 that literary representations of the Balkans region, including the Danube and the lands which surround it, were not gained from direct observation, but were a result of an intellectual tradition and the cultural contexts of the authors.² She used the development of descriptions of the physical landscape, namely the Danube River and the Haemus Mountains, to show that the region was seen in antiquity not simply as a frontier, but as a permeable space which made the movement of peoples and ideas possible.³ This thesis continues such enquiries, but focuses instead on the human aspects of the world rather than the physical landscapes, exploring how perceived identities were created for the people of north-eastern Europe in different locations and at different times, and the effect this had on how the Roman state interacted with them.

In the past there has been plenty of interest in Rome's interaction with the eastern fringes of the empire,⁴ particularly in Roman relationships with the Parthians/Sassanians, ideas of cultural contact in the region,⁵ and the extent to which these peoples were seen as barbarians or a real threat to Rome.⁶ Fergus Millar engaged with Benedict Anderson's notions of 'imagined communities'⁷ existing along the eastern frontiers to investigate how people identified themselves and the wider political community. He saw the pre-Hellenic culture in the area distinctly change once interaction began with Rome, with the Western Graeco-Roman culture affecting and being itself affected by those which had previously

² Dan (2015) pp.135, 147.

³ Dan (2015) p.147.

⁴ Millar (1993), Ball (2000), Butcher (2003).

⁵ Ball (2000) argued for cultural continuity throughout the Roman period whereas Millar (1993) saw interaction and change.

⁶ Dignas and Winter (2007), Dodgeon and Lieu (1991), Greatrex and Lieu (2002).

⁷ Anderson (2016), first published in 1983, examined the creation and spread of imagined communities and how this related to nationalism. He defined nations as imagined political communities, stating that members of a nation will never meet many of their fellow members; however, all members imagine all others as part of their community (2016, pp.6-7).

existed.⁸ In contrast, Warwick Ball used archaeological evidence such as clothing and pottery as indicators of identity in order to argue for continuity of a distinctive native culture throughout the Roman period, claiming that any Roman cultural presence in the east was purely superficial.⁹

However, there seems to be less research focusing upon interaction across north-eastern Europe. A conference on the topic of Barbarians in Ancient Europe dealt with peoples such as Scythians, Thracians and Celts from the fifth century BC until the fifth century AD.¹⁰ The main focus of these papers, presented in *The Barbarians of Ancient Europe: Realities and Interaction* was upon Greek sources and Greek interactions. The Romans appeared when discussing how they would have been viewed by the Greeks,¹¹ and there was one chapter assessing the accuracy of Tacitus' and Julius Caesar's descriptions of the Germanii,¹² but in general Roman interactions with the peoples of the Danubian-Pontic regions are not dealt with by modern western scholars.¹³ Indeed, Erich Gruen's influential work published in 2011, *Rethinking the Other in Classical Antiquity* dealt in the most part with Eastern peoples: Jews, Egyptians, the Greeks and Phoenicians.¹⁴ Thus again, attention to the peoples along the Danubian-Pontic region is lacking in the major scholarship dealing with questions of contact and representation. The majority of chapters within Almagor and Skinner's recent volume on *Ancient Ethnography: New Approaches*, once again, focused

⁸ Millar (1993).

⁹ Ball (2000).

¹⁰ Bonfante (2011) pp.1-25.

¹¹ Marincola (2011) pp.347-353.

¹² Wells (2011) pp.211-227.

¹³ There are, however, regional studies by local researchers. Scholars from these countries are beginning to publish in languages such as English and German, which allows for new discussions with Western academics. Examples include Egri (2014) pp.172-188 who examined archaeological finds in Dacia to explore trade between communities in the area; Mihajlović (2014) pp.194-208 who examined cultural meaning attributed to objects exchanged between Roman and 'barbarian' communities along the Danube; Džino (2014) pp.219-228 who researched how the Roman state constructed the identities of indigenous communities in the Dalmatian region.

¹⁴ Gruen (2010).

either upon Greek ethnography, or Roman views of the orient,¹⁵ and Benjamin Isaac's 2004 book, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity* gave unequal weight to the Jews and Egyptians compared to what Isaac refers to as 'Mountaineers and Plainsmen.'¹⁶

Yet, it is obvious that as the empire expanded during the early Principate, the Roman state was beginning to interact with cultures other than the long-established Greeks and Persians in the East. Indeed, Augustus went to great lengths to list the people with whom Rome had ties, either through conquest or diplomacy.¹⁷ However, as argued by Barry Cunliffe, the degree of contact between the Classical world of the Graeco-Romans and the peoples of northern Europe in the first two millennia BC has been grossly underestimated.¹⁸ Such contacts have recently begun to be explored by the likes of Daniëlle Slootjes and Michael Peachin whose volume, *Rome and the Worlds Beyond its Frontiers*, asked how people would express their own identity and others' as a result of interaction between those who lived within and without the Roman Empire. The scholars in this volume began to explore the supposedly sharp distinctions between 'Roman' and 'non-Roman', or 'insider' and 'outsider'¹⁹ and to ask how individuals or peoples were used by the Roman state in diplomatic and military dealings,²⁰ as well as how Rome was perceived by those 'outside' the Empire.²¹ In this volume, John Nicols used the practice of *hospitium* to demonstrate how people could be transformed from 'other' to 'us' through shared understanding of such customs.²²

¹⁵ The exception is Greg Woolf's chapter which dealt with Tacitus' *Germania*. Woolf (2013) pp.133-146.

¹⁶ Isaac (2004) pp.440-491, 352-370, 406-410.

¹⁷ *Res Gestae*, 25-33. Nicolet (1991) explored how Augustus used geographical knowledge to show the extent of his power, giving knowledge of the world a political purpose (see 1.1).

¹⁸ Cunliffe (2011) p.374.

¹⁹ Slootjes and Peachin (2016) p.x.

²⁰ Naco del Hoyo and Arrayas-Morales (2016) pp.1-19 explored Rome's policy for 'integration' between the Danubian *limes* and the Black Sea in the Late Republic, arguing that not all campaigns waged by foreign rulers drew Rome into the region.

²¹ Kolb and Speidel (2016) pp.151-179; Wicker (2016) pp.243-256.

²² Nicols (2016) pp.180-190.

Despite the detailed research being conducted into the complexities of relationships, interactions and identity formation, the impression seems to remain that the region of East Germany across to Siberia was simply Barbaricum. Indeed, Duane Roller commented that northern Europe, when presented in surviving literary sources, simply contains ‘inconsistences of interpretation [which] lasted until the end of antiquity.’²³ Yet, as demonstrated by Anca Dan, irregularities in the region’s perceived physical layout were due to the individual concerns of the authors as well as past traditions, rather than being caused by a lack of knowledge. This thesis will demonstrate that when dealing with the peoples who occupied the landscape between the Danube and Black Sea, similar considerations have to be taken into account. The Roman authors who described what today is termed ‘geography’ owed much to their Greek predecessors. Their own political background, world view and social context also played a key role in how they chose to represent the peoples from this region. The Hadrianic poet, Dionysius of Alexandria made an effort to list as many peoples of the earth as he could, but ended by stating that only the gods could count all of the *ethne* of man.²⁴ There is a multitude of different genres that deal with such peoples: Greek *periploi*, ethnographies such as Tacitus’ *Germania*, paradoxographies such as the list of wonders written by Phlegon of Tralles under Hadrian or simply historical narratives which also feature geographical descriptions.²⁵ The wide range of evidence for different types of contact in the first two centuries AD mean that the area can be examined in terms of peaceful relations, conquest and annexation, subjugation and finally rebellion. Surviving sources illustrate how interactions and views of a region and its peoples were never static.

Furthermore, literature was not the only way people of the ancient world could learn, or express knowledge about, their neighbours. Artwork, from the official, to the

²³ Roller (2015) p.164.

²⁴ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.1166-1169.

²⁵ K. Clarke (1999).

religious, to the everyday, often depicted representations of the world and personifications or 'real' representations of the people who inhabited it. Thus, people had many different media from which they could gain impressions of the peoples who inhabited the Danubian-Pontic regions. This work investigates what impressions people would have been able to take away from official monumental architecture depicting personifications of the world, emphasising the experiences of the viewers instead of the aims of the creator.²⁶ This can be compared to more everyday objects and documents, such as tombstones, dedications or military diplomas, which show the difference between state presentations of the people who made up the Roman world compared to presentations created by the people who inhabited it. It can be seen that different types of contact and different audiences created different ideas and representations of the people who lived in north-eastern Europe.

Added to this should be considerations of how past representations could affect types of contact between the Roman state and its neighbours. This is the realm of Social Constructivism, an International Relations Theory developed in 1966 by Peter L. Berger and Thomas Luckmann in their work *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. The two argued that humans are social beings who exist within societies, meaning that how individuals come to understand the world around them is influenced by pre-existing social conventions and institutions.²⁷ Social Constructivism argues that past experiences with either a state or individual will influence future actions with that party; i.e. a state uses past events and interactions to predict future occurrences (See 1.2). This means that comparisons can be made between more 'militaristic' and 'diplomatic' types of contact and questions can be raised about what influenced the Roman state when deciding which type of interaction was best. Thus, this thesis investigates the use of the language and practices of *amicitia*, or friendship, when the Roman state had to

²⁶ J. Clarke (2003) p.10.

²⁷ Berger and Luckmann (1991) pp.210-211. This work was first published in 1966.

deal with its neighbours in diplomatic terms. The thesis will also explore how Rome's neighbours could change from 'the Other' to 'us.' For instance, Rome was at war with Dacia for much of its history. Yet, there is evidence of Dacians joining the Roman army and settling within neighbouring communities. By the third century AD, dedications in Rome mention Dacian praetorians coming from Sarmizegetusa.²⁸ Clearly, the idea that the Dacians were enemies of Rome was not constant. Furthermore, in the Bosporan Kingdom, to be a friend of Rome became a hereditary title and was evidently a way for monarchs to gain legitimacy. Past relations between Rome and its neighbours could therefore greatly influence future contact and representations.

1.1: Historical Overview

The region this thesis is concerned with is the area to the north of the Danube and the Black Sea. This comprised a number of nomadic peoples and kingdoms, with whom Rome's contact varied in intensity over time. There was much interaction with these people on a personal and state level over the first two centuries AD. Traditionally, this region has been seen as one "of uneasy but continuous movement."²⁹ This area was a mix of societies and tribes, such as the Rhoxolani, Bastarnae and Iazyges which will appear throughout the thesis, but the two main kingdoms with which this work is concerned are the Dacians and the people of the Bosporan Kingdom. These peoples had vastly differing histories, backgrounds and social and political makeups, which allow for comparisons between how the Roman state dealt with its neighbours. The fact that they have been overlooked by modern Western scholars is partly a result of the Iron Curtain during the Cold War.³⁰ Nevertheless, some attempts have been made by scholars such as David Braund, Ian

²⁸ Noy (2000) p.218; *CIL* 6, 2605.

²⁹ Dan (2015) p.145.

³⁰ Coşkun (2014) p.31.

Haynes and William Hanson, Altay Coşkun and Heinz Heinen to bring this region of the world to the attention of the West.

The province of Dacia, formed originally in AD 106 after Trajan's conquest, is traditionally seen as consisting of modern Transylvania and the surrounding Carpathian Mountains and plains, in Romania (Fig.2).



Figure 2. Roman Dacia and the surrounding communities. Image from Hammond (1981) map. 24.

However, the boundaries changed in the following years with successive emperors re-organising the region.³¹ Before the annexation, 'the Dacians' as a people were seemingly nomadic. However, as Haynes and Hanson point out, there were periods of time in which the Dacians were controlled by a single ruler such as Burebista (r.82 – 44 BC) against whom

³¹ Haynes and Hanson (2004) p.14.

Julius Caesar waged war, and Decebalus, who had contact with both Domitian and Trajan.³² Under Burebista there was a large influx of Roman *denarii* into the region,³³ implying some sort of contact between the region and Italy.

Augustus claimed in his *Res Gestae* that his armies had defeated the Dacians and forced them to the north side of the Danube.³⁴ Appian described Octavian's campaigns along the Middle Danube and the wars of 35 BC against the Iapodes and their neighbours, the Segestani, in the region of Pannonia.³⁵ Accordingly, these were so that the Romans had a base from which to attack the Dacians. Indeed, Horace's *Satires* show that Octavian's campaigns against Dacia were a topic of conversation in everyday Rome.³⁶ Cassius Dio recorded that Marcus Licinius Crassus fought a war against the Dacians and the Bastarnae,³⁷ and once again, Horace commented that the army of the Dacian king, Cotiso, had fallen.³⁸ Other wars of uncertain date are recorded as being waged against the Dacians during the reign of Augustus.³⁹ It has been argued by A. Mócsy that the power of the Dacians declined remarkably after Burebista's death.⁴⁰ This is based on a comment by Frontinus that a Dacian king, Scorylo, refused to attack the Romans during the civil wars of AD 68-69 as it would harm his own people but benefit Rome.⁴¹ However, far from being a sign of the Dacian ruler's weakness, this seems more like a sensible strategy made by someone aware of the intricacies of international diplomacy. P. Conole and R. D. Milns

³² Haynes and Hanson (2004) p.14.

³³ Crawford (1977) p.117; Haynes and Hanson (2004) pp.14-15.

³⁴ *Res Gestae*, 30.2.

³⁵ Appian, *Illyrica*, 22-23; Mócsy (1974) p.22.

³⁶ Horace, *Sermones*, 2.6.53.

³⁷ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 51.23.2.

³⁸ Horace, *Odes*, 3.8.18: *occidit Daci Cotisonis agmen*. He strikes down that which is driven by the Dacian Cotiso. Unless otherwise mentioned, all translations are my own. Nisbett and Rudd (2004) pp.129-130; Mócsy (1974) p.23 argued that Cotiso had taken control of the lands to the south of the Danube since the war won by Crassus is described as being against the Moesians.

³⁹ Strabo, *Geographia*, 7.3.10, 7.3.13; Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 55.30.4.

⁴⁰ Mócsy (1974) pp.19-24.

⁴¹ Frontinus, *Strategemata*, 1.10.4: *Scorylo, dux Dacorum, cum sciret dissociatum armis civilibus populum Romanum, neque tamen sibi temptandum arbitraretur, quia externo bello posset concordia inter cives coalescere....* Scorylo, leader of the Dacians, when he knew about the Romans divided by civil wars, did not think to attack, because peace could be united between citizens by a foreign war...

described the Geto-Dacians who inhabited the Carpathian Mountains as “untrustworthy allies of Rome.”⁴² However, this decreased power seemingly did not last and under the rule of Decebalus, the Dacians posed a threat to the Roman Empire. In AD 85, the Roman commander Oppius Sabinus was killed in a Dacian raid, and a few years later in AD 87, Cornelius Fuscus met a similar end.⁴³ This led to Domitian waging war against them in AD 87-88. In AD 89 the Roman forces were victorious at Tapae and peace was temporarily established.⁴⁴ Cassius Dio recorded this treaty between Decebalus and Domitian and described how the Roman Emperor supposedly sent subsidies and technology to the Dacian king.⁴⁵ According to Tacitus, people openly mocked Domitian’s triumph for the defeat of Decebalus, along with his claims of having conquered Germanic tribes.⁴⁶ Haynes and Hanson highlighted how well organised the Dacian state was at this point, since Greek letters were found carved into the stone blocks inside the Dacian fortress at Grădiştea Muncelului (probably Sarmizegetusa Regia). This implies that Greek engineers from the cities along the Black Sea were providing them with technical support.⁴⁷

Domitian’s payment of subsidies and support to Decebalus was met with criticism in Rome, and under Trajan, Pliny the Younger wrote in his *Panegyricus* about how now Rome would no longer have to buy its hostages from its enemies.⁴⁸ It was under Trajan that wars with the Dacian people resumed again. In AD 101-2 Trajan led his armies into Dacia and they returned in AD 105-106. It is debated whether the motives for these wars were to gain military glory and gold, or whether it was purely for frontier security.⁴⁹ It was in AD 106 that the province of Dacia was created. New cities were founded, though they were given ‘Dacian’ names. These include Ulpia Traiana Augusta Dacica Sarmizegetusa, Apulum

⁴² Conole and Milns (1983) p.185.

⁴³ Suetonius, *Domitian*, 6.1.

⁴⁴ Hanson and Haynes (2004) p.15.

⁴⁵ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 67.7.4.

⁴⁶ Tacitus, *Agricola*, 39.1.

⁴⁷ Hanson and Haynes (2004) p.15.

⁴⁸ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus*, 12.

⁴⁹ Lepper and Frere (1988) pp.277-282; Bennett (1997) p.88; Hanson and Haynes (2004) p.15.

and Napoca. However, excavations have revealed that there was little pre-Roman settlement in these areas.⁵⁰ Trajan also formed two new auxiliary units from his conquest, the *cohortes Ulpia Dacorum* and the *ala Ulpia Dacorum* and it is said that the native population of the new province was removed or killed.⁵¹

Following Trajan's death, Hadrian re-defined the boundaries of the province. This was seemingly due to attacks by the Rhoxolani and Iazyges in the region. These were nomadic tribes who have been described as Sarmatians. Their movements are hard to track. However, it has been suggested that the Iazyges crossed the Carpathians in c.AD 20 and by AD 50 were seemingly located between the Danube and Theiss rivers.⁵² The Rhoxolani often encroached on the territory of the Roman Empire, and Ann Hyland has argued that they are seen on Trajan's Column holding a lupine standard, fighting the Romans on the side of the Dacians.⁵³ However, following Trajan's death, Hadrian then made peace with the Rhoxolani and granted them lands and subsidies. The single province of Dacia was turned into three: Dacia Superior, Inferior and Porolissensis by AD 120. After this time, ideas about the Danube as the 'last frontier' seemed to change to ideas of an axis of military and commercial activity. They were the core of a new Roman territory and had a particular role in the empire's global functioning.⁵⁴

⁵⁰ Hanson and Haynes (2004) p.18.

⁵¹ Ruscu (2004) pp.75-84 explored how this was more likely to have been a literary creation than a true account of events. Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 68.14.4 spoke of Trajan setting up cities in the region of Dacia following its conquest.

⁵² Conole and Milns (1983) p.185.

⁵³ Hyland (1993) p.102.

⁵⁴ Dan (2015) p.146.



Figure 3. Map of the Bosporean Kingdom c. 389 BC - AD 69. Image from <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=68226551>.

The history of the northern Black Sea littoral (Fig. 3) is long and involves many civilizations colonising and integrating along the coasts of the Euxine. M. Rostovtzeff used archaeological finds to show that civilizations existed in this region in the Pre-historic period.⁵⁵ Wars between Scythians and Persians from the eighth and seventh centuries BC were echoed by later authors, such as Herodotus and Strabo,⁵⁶ who both mentioned a Cimmerian kingdom on the coast of the Black Sea.⁵⁷ Greek mythology described Cimmerians living in fog and darkness on the north coast of the Black Sea.⁵⁸ Indeed, many

⁵⁵ Rostovtzeff (1922) pp.15-34.

⁵⁶ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.37.

⁵⁷ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.11-12.

⁵⁸ Strabo, *Geographia*, 1.1.10, 1.2.9, 3.2.12 wrote about the Cimmerians living in fog on the north coast of the Black Sea according to Homer.

of the names associated with the later Bosporan kingdom were given 'Cimmerian' names, such as the Cimmerian Bosphorus for the straits of Kerch; a region near Panticapaeum was called the ferry of the Cimmerians, and a number of forts were called Cimmerian forts.⁵⁹ By the sixth century BC, the Greeks began colonising the Black Sea. The richest colonies over time became Sinope, Amisos and Heracleia. The region was linked to tales of Odysseus and other heroes: The White Island of Achilles lay within the Euxine and the Hyperboreans lived blessed lives to the far north of the region. According to Rostovtzeff, Greek influence increased in the region following Athens' victory over the Persians.⁶⁰ However, shortly after this, Spartocid rule developed in Panticapaeum. This dynasty lasted until the late second century BC and greatly changed the political makeup of the region.

There is very little published in the West on the history of the Bosporan kingdom.⁶¹ What has been produced owes much to Michel Rostovtzeff. In the early twentieth century he published in Russian the history of the region.⁶² This work, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* often draws distinctions between these two ethnic groups⁶³ and questions how their 'Iranian' practices spread to other ethnic populations in the region, such as Pontus, Cappadocia and Armenia.⁶⁴ Indeed, throughout the work, Rostovtzeff emphasised the role

⁵⁹ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.12 mentioned Cimmerian walls, a Cimmerian ferry, the country Cimmeria and the Cimmerian strait. Strabo, *Geographia*, 7.4.3 described how the Cimmerian mountain on the north coast of the Black Sea was so-called because the Cimmerians once held sway in the region. 11.2.5 mentions the city, Cimmericum, on the peninsula being named after the Cimmerians who once lived there.

⁶⁰ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.66. Sekunda (1992) attempted to calculate the population of Athens based on how much grain was sent from the Black Sea region.

⁶¹ Millar (1996) p.164.

⁶² Rostovtzeff (1918). This was translated into English in 1922.

⁶³ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.9 described the Scythians who inhabited the north coast of the Black Sea in the seventh century BC as 'almost completely Iranian, a northern counterpart of the kingdom of Darius and Xerxes.' pp.83-146 for discussion of the history of the 'Iranian' Scythians and Sarmatians in contrast to the Greek cities in the region.

⁶⁴ Rostovtzeff (1922) pp.10-11 argued against economic links between the north and south Black Sea littorals to explain similarities in culture, and instead stated that they can be explained by the same race inhabiting both sides of the Black Sea. He also argued that as the 'Iranian' Scythians reached the Black Sea they mixed their culture with those of the Greek colonies there, and then transformed the Bosphorus into a 'semi-Iranian state.' (p.14).

of native influences on the populations of the region.⁶⁵ He gave them pride of place over the Greeks who colonised the area, claiming that “I do not regard South Russia as one of the provinces of the Greek world. South Russia has always been, and remained even in the Greek period, an Oriental land.”⁶⁶ Accordingly, the rise of the Spartocid kings was a native reaction against Greek domination of the region following the rise of Athens in the fifth century BC,⁶⁷ and throughout the work Rostovtzeff commented upon whether practices were ‘Greek’ or ‘native’, often concluding that they were a mixture of the two.⁶⁸ He claimed that the Bosporan kingdom was not ‘a group of little Greek towns lost on the shores of the Black Sea’ but instead, it was a kingdom with its own ‘interesting and original form of life.’ He discussed how Greek civilization was worked into the model of Bosporan government.⁶⁹ However, in later works Rostovtzeff instead claimed that despite a dualism of Greek and non-Greek being present throughout the Bosporan kingdom, it was the Greek civilization that triumphed over other cultures in the area and across the Near East.⁷⁰

It needs to be noted how influenced Rostovtzeff was by contemporary events in Russia.⁷¹ The scholar left Petrograd in 1918 and travelled to England, then Wisconsin, then to Yale University in Connecticut. By the time Rostovtzeff wrote for *Cambridge Ancient History* in 1930, he was working at Yale University and excavating Dura Europos. His view of history at this point was linked to Western affairs and politics, and this is reflected in his later works when he instead placed emphasis on Greek culture over Oriental (i.e. Western culture over Russian).⁷² However, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* is a work from before

⁶⁵ Rostovtzeff (1922) pp.35-60.

⁶⁶ Rostovtzeff (1922) pp.viii-ix.

⁶⁷ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.68.

⁶⁸ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.76 when discussing graves in the Taman peninsula.

⁶⁹ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.81.

⁷⁰ Rostovtzeff (1930) pp.362-363.

⁷¹ Bowersock (1993) pp.196-197 argues that Rostovtzeff’s change of viewpoint reflected the triumph of the West in Rostovtzeff’s mind.

⁷² Bowersock (1993) pp.196-197.

the Russian Revolution which does not contain the anti-Bolshevik ideas which can be seen in Rostovtzeff's later works.⁷³

When Rostovtzeff came to the Roman period, the idea that all 'native' people from the Black Sea were Iranian persisted. Accordingly, there was a tension between the native Iranians and the Romans. He described how the Pontic kings were only slightly Hellenized and so wished to subjugate the Greek cities in the region.⁷⁴ It is Mithridates the Great, ruler of Pontus, who is most famous from this region. He conquered the Bosphorus and used it to wage wars with Rome during the end of the Republic. Rostovtzeff claimed that the 'Iranian' tribes of the Sarmatians, Maeotians and Thracians were sympathetic towards the king because they saw him as representing their own power. In comparison, the Greeks were supposedly angered by a false philhellenism adopted by Mithridates.⁷⁵ The Pontic ruler was eventually defeated by Lucullus, and then Pompey's forces. The episode had brought Rome into the political life of the region, and the kings and queens of the Bosphorus seemingly were keen to make friends of the Empire. Rostovsteff's history emphasised that the Bosporan kings ruling at the end of the Roman Republic and early Principate wanted to be the champions of the 'Iranians' who lived in the area. Thus, they played upon relations to Mithridates of Pontus. However, they accordingly ultimately betrayed the Iranians for their position with Rome.⁷⁶

This dualism continues in Rostovtzeff's description of the rest of the region. He described how the 'Iranian' Sarmatians became a danger to the Roman state in the first century BC and that at the same time, they maintained relations with the nearby Germanic and Thracian tribes.⁷⁷ In the first-second centuries AD, the Bosporan rulers held sway over the Cimmerian Bosphorus, including Lake Maeotis. Cities included Panticapaeum, with

⁷³ Bowersock (1993) p.191.

⁷⁴ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.148.

⁷⁵ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.149.

⁷⁶ Rostovtzeff (1922) pp.156-158.

⁷⁷ Rostovtzeff (1922) pp.116-117.

Theodosia located to the west and Phanagoria, as well as the Greek city of Tanais.⁷⁸ In AD 62-63⁷⁹ the Roman commander Tiberius Plautius Silvanus, governor of Moesia, waged war along the Danube and Black Sea as a result of movements by the Aorsi, Alani and Iazyges tribes in the area (See Chapter 4 for Plautius Silvanus' dealings with the Dacians and Chapter 5 for his interactions with the Rhoxolani and Bastarnae).⁸⁰ This caused Nero to become interested in the region and to wage war against the Alani who lived in the steppes of the northern Caucasus. The Bosporan kingdom was either annexed following the death of Cotys I, or Roman interference in the region greatly increased as coins began to appear with Nero's name on.⁸¹ It is possible that the plan was to annex the lands to the north of the Danube as well, effectively removing the Sarmatians from half of their land.⁸² However, Nero's overthrow and the civil war that followed led to raids in this region instead.

In the following years, the attempts to annex Dacia were possibly part of a defensive plan across the Danubian-Pontic lands, in order to prevent attacks by Germani and Sarmatian forces. From the time of Hadrian onwards, interest in the north of the Black Sea and the military presence there greatly increased. Forts were set up in Iberia and Armenia, and an invasion by the Alani was pushed back by Arrian in AD 135.⁸³

According to Rostovtzeff, there was a tension along the Black Sea between native 'Iranian' identities and Greek practices. Such tensions continued between 'Iranians' and Roman rule. Rostovtzeff emphasised that the Bosporan rulers who came after the 'Iranian' Mithridates tried to tread the line between loyalty to their predecessor who had opposed

⁷⁸ Millar (1996) p.167.

⁷⁹ This date is debated. Zubar (2005) pp.176-177 placed them in AD 63-66.

⁸⁰ Conole and Milns (1983) pp.187-191. Plautius Silvanus' tombstone records his career in the region and how he led 100 000 people across the Danube and forced them to pay taxes. He fought the Sarmatians and returned the nephews of the kings of the Rhoxolani and Bastarnae to them (*ILS* 986).

⁸¹ Conole and Milns (1983) p.190 instead suggest that the Roman state had to step in on a temporary basis because upon Cotys' death, his son Rhescuporis was a minor and so to leave the kingdom in his hands would have caused unrest and civil war.

⁸² Rostovtzeff (1922) p.117.

⁸³ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 69.15.1-2. Bosworth (1977) pp.217-255.

Rome, and a subservience to Rome.⁸⁴ However, such an idea has been challenged in more recent years by Heinz Heinen who tried to demonstrate that Mithridates was not opposed to the idea of *amicus populi Romani* and that such 'ethnic hostilities' did not last over centuries. Instead, he attempted to demonstrate that both Rome and Mithridates played a key role in the ideology of the Bosporan kings in the first century BC – AD.⁸⁵ Unfortunately, Heinz Heinen died in 2013 and his book which re-examined the history of the region from 63 BC until AD 44 remains unpublished.⁸⁶ The project, *Ethnic Identities and Diplomatic Affiliations of the Bosporan Kingdom*, was started by Altay Coşkun in 2017.⁸⁷ Coşkun is attempting to recreate a chronology of the Bosporan kingdom using coinage and epigraphic evidence, as well as literary accounts.⁸⁸ The project also aims to demonstrate that the dichotomy between 'Iranian' and 'Greek', or later 'Iranian' and 'Roman' is too simplistic and in fact, the identities of the rulers and the subjects of the Bosporan kingdom were far more heterogeneous; furthermore, relations between these rulers and the Roman Empire were far more complex than Rostovtzeff previously portrayed.

1.2: Ideas of 'The Other'

Much research has been done to explore ideas of barbarians and 'the other,' especially with regard to the Greeks and the Oriental.⁸⁹ Scholars such as Edith Hall have used ideas of alterité to argue that ancient societies would construct identities for 'barbarians' against which they could define themselves.⁹⁰ Such notions tie into modern Social Identity theory; in 1979, psychologists Henri Tajfel and John Turner posited that people's inclusion in a group formed a key part of their identity and gave them a sense of

⁸⁴ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.10.

⁸⁵ Heinen (2001) pp.355-370; (2008b) pp.137-152.

⁸⁶ Coşkun (2014) p.33.

⁸⁷ <http://www.altaycoskun.com/new-page-91/> [accessed October 2018].

⁸⁸ Barrett (1977) p.9 for a tentative reconstruction of the Bosporan ruling dynasty's genealogy.

⁸⁹ E. Said (1978); Hall (1989); S. Said (2002) pp.62-100; Lissarrague (2002) pp.101-108; Browning (2002) pp.257-277; Nippel (2002) pp.296-310; Isaac (2004); Gruen (2010).

⁹⁰ Hall (1989).

belonging.⁹¹ Thus, social identity is an individual's perception of internalised group membership, leading to notions of 'us', against the backdrop of those outside the group, or 'them'. The inclusion in the group is key and this type of identity differs from personal identities which can be gained through an individual's own thoughts, actions and attributes. In 2004 Benjamin Isaac published his work, *The Invention of Racism in Classical Antiquity*, in which he argued that Greek and Latin sources attributed common characteristics to groups of people that were either hereditary or determined by external factors, making them unalterable.⁹² He searched for reactions in the Greco-Latin texts to such characteristics, creating a type of systematic proto-racism.

However, more recently it has been argued that perceptions of and interactions with 'the Other' in antiquity were far more nuanced than this simple 'us' v. 'them' mentality.⁹³ In contrast to Isaac, Erich Gruen in his work, *Rethinking the Other in Antiquity*⁹⁴ engaged with the impression of 'the Other' in line with connections with these foreigners. Gruen argued that it was not simply the case that 'the Other' was created in order to show the cultural superiority of societies such as the Greeks or the Romans.⁹⁵ Indeed, he commented that when writing about black Africans, ancient authors did not resort to derision when describing these people.⁹⁶ Instead, the picture was more nuanced with different impressions and opinions of foreigners existing side by side.⁹⁷ Eran Almagor and Joseph Skinner also argued that it was not simply the case that 'Greeks' or 'Romans' were contrasted against a barbarian 'Other'.⁹⁸ The pair emphasised the roles of contact, mobility and exchange and how constructed identities could have multiple facets of

⁹¹ Tajfel and Turner (1979) p.38.

⁹² Isaac (2004) p.38.

⁹³ Hartog (1988) argued that the Scythians in Herodotus are not an accurate representation of far-off peoples, but a literary device designed to give a 'mirror' of the Greeks since both societies resisted the Persians.

⁹⁴ Gruen (2010).

⁹⁵ Gruen (2010) p.3.

⁹⁶ Gruen (2010) p.354.

⁹⁷ Gruen (2010) pp.1-5.

⁹⁸ Almagor and Skinner (2013) p.1.

similarity and differences with others. It stressed that thought needs to move away from stereotyping and instead examine cultural differences.⁹⁹ The two argued against an idea of one 'Greek' or 'Roman' identity.¹⁰⁰ Gruen postulated that more importance was placed on 'the Other' being brought into the culture of the supposed opposing society.¹⁰¹ He emphasised inclusion over exclusion and explored the cultural appropriation that took place between Jewish and Greek philosophers¹⁰² as well as mythological bonds of kinship and foundation legends created to form bonds between societies across the Greek, Roman and Jewish world.¹⁰³ His work argued that stereotypes and caricatures of Rome's enemies were not universal,¹⁰⁴ using Julius Caesar's descriptions of the Celts¹⁰⁵ and Tacitus' *Germania* as a way to get Roman audiences to examine themselves and their own flaws, as well as their enemies.¹⁰⁶ However, at times, Gruen seemed to see only positive interactions; for example, he argued that there was a playful one-up-manship going on between Jewish and Greek philosophers, ignoring any possible tensions between individuals belonging to these groups.

Isaac described 'The Other' as including "women, slaves, children, the elderly, or disfigured people. It refers to any group that is not part of the establishment, but is placed on the margins or periphery of society, or does not belong to it at all."¹⁰⁷ As this thesis aims to show, being a 'foreigner' against a backdrop of 'others' was only one part of an individual's 'otherness' and the extent to which this was important differed depending upon time and place. Individual perceptions of foreigners, friends and neighbours can differ from one individual to the next, depending on their own background and contacts. This

⁹⁹ Almagor and Skinner (2013) p.3.

¹⁰⁰ Almagor and Skinner (2013) pp.1-12.

¹⁰¹ Gruen (2010) p.352.

¹⁰² Gruen (2010) pp.308-325.

¹⁰³ Gruen (2010) pp.233-304.

¹⁰⁴ Gruen (2010) p.254.

¹⁰⁵ Gruen (2010) pp.141-158.

¹⁰⁶ Gruen (2010) pp.159-178.

¹⁰⁷ Isaac (2004) p.4.

work also seeks to explore ideas about the construction of identities for the peoples who lived outside the Roman Empire, asking what led to the creation of these identities, and how they could change depending on time, circumstance, and contact, and how these foreign neighbours became included in the different societies of the Roman Empire.

1.3: Geographic Imperialism and Knowledge

Claude Nicolet's *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*¹⁰⁸ linked the notions of imperialism and expansion with geographical knowledge; accordingly, with the change from Republic to Empire, a shift in how the world was presented to the Roman people took place. Throughout the work, Nicolet emphasised how Augustus took a keen interest in geography and used it to declare his conquest of the known world, through a combination of stark facts in the *Res Gestae*,¹⁰⁹ Agrippa's map¹¹⁰ and the symbolism and allegories seen throughout the city of Rome, such as globes on coinage¹¹¹ or conquered peoples in the Theatre of Pompey or Forum of Augustus.¹¹² Nicolet claimed that the desire to explore and expand helped the development of geographical knowledge, but that knowledge of geography and the layout of the world was vital to Rome's administrative system.¹¹³ His work showed how maps, geographical writings and iconography were used politically, mostly to support claims of world conquest: it was not enough for Augustus simply to claim that he had conquered the *oikoumene*; he had to prove it. Thus, knowledge of the world was given a political purpose. Building upon his work, this thesis explores some of the political or social conditions which affected how the peoples who made up the

¹⁰⁸ This was first published in 1988 in French as *L'inventaire du monde: Géographie et politique aux origines de l'Empire romain* but was translated to English in 1991. Nicolet (1991).

¹⁰⁹ Nicolet (1991) pp.15-24. *Res Gestae*, 26-34.

¹¹⁰ Nicolet (1991) pp.95-114.

¹¹¹ Nicolet (1991) pp.36-37.

¹¹² Nicolet (1991) p.45.

¹¹³ Nicolet (1991) pp.189-197.

ancient world were presented in the first two centuries AD in order to investigate further the reasons for Roman expansion and involvement in the regions beyond the Empire.

In past studies of ancient geographical knowledge, emphasis has been placed on what could be learned about the physical landscape from ancient texts. In 1897 Henry Fanshawe Tozer's *History of Ancient Geography* compiled an account of the evolution of geographical knowledge in surviving texts, but his concern was with how accurate the ancient authors were in comparison with his contemporary landscape. More recently, Duane Roller has published his account of the development of geographical knowledge in a similar fashion, describing its change chronologically and by region.¹¹⁴ This work, *Geography in Antiquity* gives a good overview of the development of geographical knowledge and writings, and his appendix on every surviving geographical author is helpful. Yet neither of these authors dealt with different possible conceptualisations.¹¹⁵ Instead, texts were the main type of evidence used. Yet, as this thesis will demonstrate in Chapters 2, 3 and 4, there was a variety of media through which the inhabitants of the ancient world could learn about their place in it and the other occupants of the *orbis terrarum*.

Furthermore, Roller split his work chronologically and then by region, then focused on separate authors. This is again helpful, yet when dealing with the north of Europe, Roller simply stated that after failed attempts to reach the Elbe, the area was of no interest to the writers.¹¹⁶ He cited Tacitus who lamented that the Elbe was once known to Rome, but is now just a name.¹¹⁷ However, this lamentation itself surely shows that authors were still fascinated by these regions beyond the limits of Roman power. Such an attitude can

¹¹⁴ Roller (2015).

¹¹⁵ Richard Talbert (2004a) p.117; (2004b) p.121; (2008) p.14; (2010) pp.262-264 has argued against a purely itinerary-based view of the world in favour of a cartographic tradition. Richardson (2008) p.125 believed that from the time of Augustus onwards, the world was seen more as provinces which denoted territory, rather than a sphere of responsibility which was previously allotted by the Senate; cf. Talbert (2004b) p.23.

¹¹⁶ Roller (2015) p.164.

¹¹⁷ Tacitus, *Germania*, 41; Anderson (1938) p.193.

certainly be seen in Arrian's *periplus* of the Euxine Sea, when the statesman claimed he was exploring and writing about the north coast in case Hadrian should have plans for the Cimmerian Bosphorus.¹¹⁸ Even if authors such as Pomponius Mela in the mid first century AD were still citing Herodotus and Homer when discussing the people who inhabited north-eastern Europe, a lack of accurate knowledge is not evidence for apathy with regard to the Danubian-Pontic region. This thesis challenges the notion that first- and second-century knowledge of people who lived between the Danube and the Black Sea simply copied past ideas about the region and seeks to show that Roman perceptions of and dealings with the peoples on the north-eastern fringes were far subtler and more varied than previously thought.

Daniela Dueck went further than Tozer and Roller when examining 'geographical' writings from the ancient world. Her work, *Geography in Classical Antiquity*, provided an introduction to the different ways in which ancient landscapes, topography and ethnography could be described. Within the work, Dueck divided geographic texts into descriptive geography,¹¹⁹ mathematical geography,¹²⁰ and cartography.¹²¹ The majority of the literary works described in this thesis will fall under Dueck's 'descriptive' geography. While this is a useful way to delineate the categories for modern audiences, as literary *topoi* can influence the information that is presented, it should be noted that ideas can cross genres and styles (See Chapter 2). Furthermore, ancient audiences would not have understood 'geography' as a separate science in the same way that modern audiences do;¹²² many texts contain descriptions of the world as part of historical treatises. For instance, Sallust briefly described Africa in his *De Bello Iugurthino*.¹²³ He listed its natural

¹¹⁸ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 17.3.

¹¹⁹ Dueck (2012) pp.20-67.

¹²⁰ Dueck (2012) pp.68-98.

¹²¹ Brodersen (2012) pp.99-110.

¹²² K. Clarke (1999) pp.1-76 on the interconnectivity between history and geography.

¹²³ Sallust, *De Bello Iugurthino*, 17.1-2.

features and gave a summary of the history of the different tribes. This was simply one part of the world and Sallust emphasised how briefly he would deal with the topic, simply because his historical narrative required it.¹²⁴ Furthermore, he described only the peoples with whom Rome had had contact.¹²⁵ To Sallust, knowledge of the world was only important inasmuch as it served Roman needs. In this case, it was required for his history. In fact, rather than pointing out new facts about the undiscovered country which Sallust was describing, instead he stated that Africa was seldom visited meaning he was unable to describe it in any detail.¹²⁶

Dueck followed on from Nicolet's argument that geographical knowledge had a political role in the Augustan period, to show that Roman poets, including Catullus, Virgil, Horace and Ovid all used geographical descriptions or lists of places for ideological reasons, to illustrate the extent of the Roman world, regardless of whether or not the audience recognised the place being named or described.¹²⁷ However, she was highly pessimistic about the possibility of recreating a more 'popular' geography from the surviving source material, claiming that the people of the Roman Empire "probably had a vague knowledge of more remote places and foreign peoples" and nothing more.¹²⁸ As mentioned above, it is slowly being recognised that there are more ways to learn what people from the ancient world thought about its layout and inhabitants than just geographic texts. Indeed, Dueck briefly acknowledged the role monuments such as the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, or Trajan's Column in Rome, as well as triumphal processions could play in educating the inhabitants of the world about its layout and populations.¹²⁹

¹²⁴ Sallust, *De Bello Iugurthino*, 17.2: *Cetera quam paucissimis absolvam*. Syme (1964) pp.152-153.

¹²⁵ Sallust, *De Bello Iugurthino*, 17.1: *Res postulare videtur Africae situm paucis exponere et eas gentis, quibuscum nobis bellum aut amicitia fuit, attingere*.

¹²⁶ Sallust, *De Bello Iugurthino*, 17.2: *Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de iis haud facile compertum narraverim*.

¹²⁷ Dueck (2012) pp.32-35.

¹²⁸ Dueck (2012) pp.118-121. Talbert (2012).

¹²⁹ Dueck (2012) p.121; Östenberg (2009) pp.262-292.

There is an abundance of scholarship on the representations of foreign peoples, or 'barbarians' in public artwork. Personifications of nations were nothing new in the ancient world, nor is the study of them.¹³⁰ Iain Ferris investigated the representations of foreign peoples throughout Roman history. He argued for the creation of a generic 'barbarian' in pictorial representations, which was not based in reality but evolved over time as Roman attitudes towards their neighbours or conquests changed. Overall, his work saw a growing fear of barbarians in the centre of the Empire in artistic depictions.¹³¹ Charles Rose argued the opposite, stating that from the time of Augustus onwards, public artwork was concerned with showing non-Romans participating peacefully in the empire, rather than being conquered.¹³² As will be argued in Chapter 3, much of the emphasis in such studies is placed upon the political aims of the creators of such monuments. John Clarke has demonstrated that not all people who viewed ancient monuments, artwork and allegories would have had access to the vast source material that modern scholars do from across the empire, and that their reactions would have depended upon individual backgrounds such as gender, age, origin, status, and profession.¹³³ Placing emphasis back on the experience of the audience and viewers, how much of the monument was actually accessible to them, and the overall effect of the monument rather than individual personifications helps go some way towards recreating what could be termed 'popular' geography.

Yet there are many other everyday objects and legislative documents which can also inform modern audiences about ancient views of the world. In 2017 Richard Talbert demonstrated that studying ancient sundials helps to reconstruct what was known about the layout of the world, and its makeup in the form of cities and provinces.¹³⁴ Accordingly, the choice of locations inscribed on the objects demonstrate a network of designers,

¹³⁰ Gardner (1888); Toynbee (1934) pp.7-23; Smith (2013) pp.113-121.

¹³¹ Ferris (2003) pp.184-186; (2009).

¹³² Rose (2005) pp.21-67.

¹³³ J. Clarke (2003) p.10.

¹³⁴ Talbert (2017).

makers and users with shared general geographic knowledge. Another type of documents which details individuals' origins are the bronze tablets which are granted to auxiliary soldiers upon completion of their service in the Roman army. In a recent conference, *'Married to the Military: Soldiers' Families in the Ancient World and Beyond'*, held in 2016, Elizabeth Greene examined how tribal identity could be preserved in the names of soldiers who were issued with military diplomas. However, these documents were created by the Roman state so can be used more to gain an understanding of the 'official' view of the Empire. As Chapter 4 will demonstrate, they can be used to reconstruct which names were given to which regions at points in time, and how this affected representations of the people who lived in that region.

Previous attempts to understand interactions with peoples on the periphery of the Roman Empire have used a Core-Periphery model, whereby the Mediterranean is presented as a zone of consumption which was responsible for generating exchange networks with the periphery. This seems oversimplified, with the focus being on the core as more important than the periphery.¹³⁵ Furthermore, it should be noted that to the peoples on the edges of the Roman world, they were not existing on a periphery. Rome and its culture were just one of the ways these communities could form identities and relationships. Therefore, Chapter 4 examines different ways in which people *ex natione Dacus* could be presented or present themselves when removed from their homeland. It demonstrates that while interaction with new communities could alter self-representation, the new communities with which these individuals interacted need not be Roman. While there is no surviving textual evidence from the peoples along the northern frontiers of the Roman Empire, there may be a way to show their reaction to, or interaction with, Roman imperialism. Chapter 6 takes the example of *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* titles in the Bosphorus, traditionally seen to have been honouring the emperor in Rome and a sign of

¹³⁵ Cunliffe (2011) p.372.

submission and reliance and considers other possible understandings by the inhabitants of the region.

1.4: Roman Friendship, Social Constructivism and International Relations Theories

This thesis also deals with questions of how Rome and the societies along the Danube and Black Sea would interact in terms of ‘diplomacy.’ Claude Eilers has highlighted the difficulties of using the term ‘diplomacy’ to describe the ancient world, since it is a modern term and implies the presence of permanent representatives to further a state’s interest abroad, which the Roman Empire did not have. However, Eilers also noted that the word similarly means the methods used by communities to manage their relationships with one another.¹³⁶ Previous thought on the topic of Rome’s international dealings always placed the Roman in the higher position, and often ignored the aims and understandings of the other party.¹³⁷ However, as discussed below, scholarship is moving towards re-assessing this imbalance. Therefore, this thesis investigates the development of *amicitia* relationships under the Principate, when Rome had come to be ruled by one man.

The fact that the language of *amicitia* was used in Rome’s diplomatic dealings has slowly been gaining acceptance by scholars. In the twentieth century, the term *amicitia* was described by Ronald Syme and Lily Ross Taylor as a weapon of politics within the city of Rome. Its language was supposedly used to hide *factio* relations and lacked emotion or affection.¹³⁸ Such clientele ties were placed at the centre of social relations between the Roman elite at the end of the Roman Republic by many subsequent scholars.¹³⁹ The

¹³⁶ Eilers (2009) p.1.

¹³⁷ Badian (1958).

¹³⁸ Syme (1939) p.11; Taylor (1940) pp.7-9. *Contra* Crook (2013) p.70 who argued that while emotion and affection were not the key characteristics of Roman friendship, it would be irresponsible to pretend they did not exist.

¹³⁹ Gelzer (1969) pp.86-101.

language of friendship was also previously seen as a way to hide *patrocinium* relationships between individuals; Saller claimed that the language of patronage under the Principate included terms such as *patronus*, *cliens*, *officium*, *beneficium*, *gratia* and *amicus*, which were also characteristic of Roman friendship. However, Saller stated that such relationships were between two individuals of unequal status.¹⁴⁰ Applying such concepts to foreign policy, in 1958 Ernst Badian argued in his work, *Foreign clientelae (264-70 B.C.)*, that the language of friendship masked patron-client relationships between the Roman state and neighbouring rulers and states from the second century BC onwards. According to Badian, patron-client relationships “comprise relations admittedly between superior and inferior” whereas friendships, described as *amicitia* were “relationships between equals.”¹⁴¹ Thus, because the Roman state often defeated other peoples to form new states, Badian saw all relations with the kings on the edges of the empire as asymmetrical, with Rome being the stronger power. Instead, the language of *amicitia* was simply used out of politeness as Rome’s power grew.¹⁴² He emphasised that his approach was not based in the legal connotations of the language, but that Rome’s foreign policy was flexible and opportunistic, with morals such as *fides* playing a key role. His work has been highly influential in the study of Roman foreign policy, notably for his conclusions about Rome’s informal relationships with states and rulers, and that the foreign *clientelae* of Roman aristocrats grew in importance in the sphere of Rome’s political life.

Although this idea of Rome as a patron has remained,¹⁴³ it has been met with criticism.¹⁴⁴ Badian’s model ignores the language of *amicitia* seen in the sources and does

¹⁴⁰ Saller (1982) pp.1, 8-9; Crook (2013) pp.67-69.

¹⁴¹ Badian (1958) p.11.

¹⁴² Badian (1958) pp.6-7, 12-13; Saller (1982) pp.11-15.

¹⁴³ Badian (1958) pp.156-157 distinguished between individual Romans as patrons and the more abstract patron in the form of the Roman state. Crook (2013) pp.67-69 argued similarly to Badian that the language of friendship was used by Graeco-Roman sources to give asymmetrical relationships the appearance of symmetry but focused on individuals from the same society. Coşkun (2008) p.17 commented that when a *philo-* title was adopted by an individual, it was always the weaker (i.e. not Roman) party who must take the title.

not consider whether the foreign partners understood notions of patronage. Furthermore, Badian overemphasised Rome's supremacy and the dependency of their foreign 'clients'.¹⁴⁵ In 1984 David Braund wrote his influential work, *Rome and the Friendly King*, which challenged Badian's presentation of foreign rulers as clients of Rome. The work introduced the notion that the relationships between the Roman state and kings were far more equal than previously thought and highlights that these 'friendly' relations between Rome and the kings on the edges of the empire were broad-ranging, bringing a combination of economic, social, cultural and military advantages to both sides. His work showed that *amicus* and *amicitia* were much better models than *patrocinium* for international relations.¹⁴⁶ The relationships between kings and Rome could include all aspects of interpersonal friendships,¹⁴⁷ including *fides*, *beneficium* and *officium*, *gratia* and *benevolentia*.¹⁴⁸ The language of *amicitia* had far more positive connotations to the Romans,¹⁴⁹ as seen in Cicero and Seneca's works where it was described as an idealised

¹⁴⁴ For an overview of these, Coşkun and Heinen (2004) pp.50-54.

¹⁴⁵ Lintott (1981) pp.61-62; Sherwin-White (1984) p.52; Eilers (2002) pp.186-189; Burton (2003); Eckstein (2008) pp.43-45. Bleicken (1964) pp.181-182 argued that, although Badian's book was exceedingly valuable, the role of outward dependence on the part of the foreign rulers and states was over-emphasised. Instead, Bleicken argued that in the second century BC, Rome's powerful status was not yet established, and so to be a 'client' of Rome would have had little international meaning. He highlighted that *patronus* and *patrocinium* were terms used in Rome to describe relationships between two 'Romans,' but do not necessarily work when applied to two partners from different backgrounds, as the foreign '*clientelae*' would have a limited understanding of the practice. Gruen (1984) pp.158-200 argued against the idea that the patron-client relationships were based upon the concept of *fides*. Instead, he looked for roots of the relationship in Hellenistic and Greek political traditions and ideas. Ferrary (1988) p.118 argued that ΠΑΤΡΩΝΟΣ could be seen in Greek texts since the late second century BC. Jehne and Pina Polo (2015) pp.11-15 questioned Badian's methodology of using onomastics to detect foreign *clientelae*, as well as the extent to which such *clientelae* could be used by Romans as a source of prestige within the capital city and emphasised that social relations in Roman times were far more complex than Badian suggested. Beck (2015) p.71 argued that Badian's ideas of Romans always being in the superior patron position would be impossible owing to the fact that all Romans were descended from peoples of different local background who were able to be integrated, along with their cultural advantages, into Roman society.

¹⁴⁶ Nicols (2011a) pp.321-333; (2011b) pp.427-429 also traced *hospitium* tokens in Iberia from the Roman Republic.

¹⁴⁷ Coşkun and Heinen (2004) p.54.

¹⁴⁸ Williams (2008) p.35.

¹⁴⁹ Williams (2008) pp.33-34.

bond which held all of society together.¹⁵⁰ *Amicitia* is also a far more flexible model and has room for ideas of both reciprocity and utility, through the associated gift exchange.¹⁵¹ It is slowly being accepted instead of the patron-client model as a key concept in relations between Rome and Greek *poleis*.¹⁵²

However, many of the present studies on the phenomenon focus solely on its use in the Roman Republic. In 2003, Paul Burton emphasised how *amicitia* was used by Rome for interstate relationships in the third-second centuries BC, opposed to Badian's idea of *clientelae*. According to Burton, *amicitia* did not necessarily presuppose equality and he emphasised that *beneficia* were voluntary and spontaneous, rather than an *officium*.¹⁵³ In 2011 Burton also demonstrated that there was room for ideas such as altruism, emotion and honour in *amicitia* relations.¹⁵⁴ International friendships could be both useful and still have room for idealised notions such as *amor* and *benevolentia*.¹⁵⁵ Burton argued that such ideas must be considered in any debate about Roman rule and foreign relations because the Romans were successful in their conquest through their use of trust and the ability to balance the interests of their allies and new subjects.¹⁵⁶ However, Burton's focus on the Middle Republic means that there are questions as to what happened to these friendships between communities once the Roman Principate was formed and the state was represented by an individual. This work will explore how diplomatic *amicitia* was presented in different media during the Roman Principate, the importance of the morals behind ideas of friendship, such as trust and goodwill - as seen in Cicero's *de Amicitia* - both in literature and in reality (see Chapter 5).

¹⁵⁰ Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.4.2; Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.22.

¹⁵¹ Verboven (2002) pp.31-33.

¹⁵² Snowden (2015) pp.209-211; Burton (2015) pp.225-238; Tiersch (2015) pp.239-260.

¹⁵³ Burton (2003) pp.353, 355, 360, 362.

¹⁵⁴ Burton (2011) p.22.

¹⁵⁵ Williams (2008) p.34.

¹⁵⁶ Burton (2011) p.23; Eckstein (2008) pp.342-381.

The Strangeness and Poverty project ('Fremdheit und Armut. Wandel von Inklusions- und Exklusionsformen von der Antike bis zur Gegenwart') based at Trier University was set up in 2002 and aimed to examine border societies. Part of this project, led by Heinz Heinen and Altay Coşkun, was to investigate Rome's Foreign Friends. This project identified that since the third century BC, *amicitia populi Romani* was decisive for Roman foreign policy, and a way to be included into the Mediterranean world, as well as the Roman state.¹⁵⁷ The scholars created the database, *Amici Populi Romani* (APR) which is a prosopographical collection of individuals outside Italy who made friends with the Romans. These are split into two levels: the official friends who were supposedly awarded the title by the Senate, people of Rome or a magistrate (See Chapter 6 for discussion of this practice); and those who formed unofficial friendships with Roman aristocrats. The majority of the project's entries fall between the Hannibalic War and the establishment of the Roman Principate, though there are also several entries from the Flavian period, and the project notes that the Bosporan kings held a continuous *amicitia* with Rome until the 5th century AD.¹⁵⁸ The project also investigates how the annexation of a kingdom would lead to former *reges amici populi Romani* and their descendants playing prominent roles in local government. It examines the language of *amicitia* and its use in local contexts, with a focus upon the transition of Rome from a Republic to a Principate.¹⁵⁹ However, this database is mostly based upon the presence of *amicus sociusque populi Romani*, or *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* titles. It rarely considers how Rome would deal with rulers who did not have such epithets. Therefore, this thesis investigates how dealings with kings and rulers along the Danube and northern Black Sea littoral were described. It explores the language and practices used when dealing with the very different communities who inhabited the region, whose relationships with Rome differed greatly, in order to gain

¹⁵⁷ Coşkun and Heinen (2004) p.45.

¹⁵⁸ Coşkun and Heinen (2004) p.48. Coşkun (2016) p.4.

¹⁵⁹ Coşkun and Heinen (2004) p.47.

insights into attitudes towards diplomacy and the peoples who inhabited the region, both from the point of view of the Graeco-Latin sources, and from those who lived in northern Europe.

Another development in the field of diplomatic *amicitia* is the adoption and adaptation of modern International Relations theories. Burton's approach to international *amicitia* in 2002 required a mixture of sociological and classical theories in order to explain the concepts of friendship and patronage, but in 2011, he examined *amicitia*'s use in the Middle Republic against a backdrop of International Relations theories, claiming that it was time for "shifting the discussion of Roman imperialism and diplomacy in the Middle Republic to a new discursive ground: international *amicitia*, or 'friendship' (rather than foreign *clientelae*)".¹⁶⁰ These International Relations theories were mostly developed after the Cold War and are usually linked to ideas of security in modern political debates. Three of the competing paradigms in IR theory are Realism, Liberalism and Constructivism. To give a brief summary, Realism sees self-interested states competing for power in a global state of anarchy, whereby power is seen as the only way to ensure security; Liberalism sees such concern for power overridden by economic and political considerations, meaning that cooperation is emphasised far more; and Constructivism argues that a state's behaviour is shaped by the collective norms and social identities of the members of said state. In this framework, individuals rather than states are the key players. It acknowledges that the existence of shared ideas and discourses mean that individuals are compelled towards co-operation rather than divisions. This contrasts with Realism, in which players are seen as concerned with their own power and self-interests.¹⁶¹ Ideas of Social Constructivism

¹⁶⁰ Burton (2011) p.5. Burton also previously used modern social theory to show how the language of friendship, rather than patron-client relations, was used by Romans and their 'friends' to describe the situation in the Middle Republic: Burton (2003) pp.333-369.

¹⁶¹ Burton (2011) p.18.

developed in the wake of the events of 1989 and 1991 and the ending of the Cold War, after the Realist and Liberal camps were unable to explain the dismantlement of the Soviet Union.

Debates about the use of IR theories in ancient history have focused on the merits of Constructivism.¹⁶² A key IR Constructivist is Alexander Wendt. When looking at international security issues, he emphasised that social conditions such as identity, ideology, discourse and culture should be considered, as well as simply material conditions, as argued by IR Realists, when a state tries to decide how 'secure' it is.¹⁶³ The example given is that at the turn of the millennium, The United States of America would have been less concerned by five hundred nuclear weapons in the UK than by five in North Korea, because the USA and UK were at the time considered friends and allies by both a special relationship, and institutionalised alliances.¹⁶⁴ Thus, a major limitation of this way of thinking, put forward by scholars of modern international relations, is that Constructivism is better at describing the past than anticipating the future.¹⁶⁵ However, in the context of this work, Constructivism is a useful framework and, thus, it is such Constructivist approaches that this thesis will be concerned with. Constructivism deals with the interests, identities and behaviours of both states and individuals.¹⁶⁶ Identity, and the perceived identity, of the players in international relations, and in representations of 'the Other' is

¹⁶² However, Arthur Eckstein (2008) first used such IR theories to explore Roman international policies, namely the expansion into the Greek East throughout the Hellenistic and mid-Republican period. While Eckstein did not play down Harris' argument about Roman expansion into the Greek East being driven by hostile and imperialist tendencies (1979), he also attempted to show that diplomacy and military action were employed by all sides of the wars, rather than just the supposedly inherently violent Roman state. ((2008) pp.4-5). Thus, Eckstein used the IR theory of Realism to explain Roman expansion, whereby wars are natural occurrences and every state is willing to undertake them for the sake of self-preservation ((2008) pp.7-11). This view has been met with criticism, notably by Christopher Smith and Liv Yarrow who argued that Eckstein was too influenced by the Cold War (2012) pp.4, 6-8, and that the emphasis upon states rather than individual actors is wrong (2012) pp.8-11.

¹⁶³ Wendt (1999) p.92.

¹⁶⁴ Wendt (1995) p.73.

¹⁶⁵ Copeland (2000) pp.205-206, 210.

¹⁶⁶ Burton (2011) p.22.

brought to the forefront when a constructivist framework is used: who were the individuals taking part in the contact? What was it that influenced their identities and subsequently their outlook and decisions? Some aspects of individuals' identities are capable of changing with time and circumstance, whereas others can be more resistant to alterations. Such ideas will be explored in Chapters 3 and 4, whereby it will be argued that past presentations of the Dacian people to the inhabitants of Rome would both influence future presentations of, and future dealings with Rome's northern neighbours. On the other hand, any individual who had encountered the Dacian people would have a very different understanding of certain ethnic identifiers than individuals who had never travelled to the Danubian frontier.¹⁶⁷ These chapters also ask how past experiences with the Dacians and Sarmatian people can influence how they are presented in monumental public and private artwork.

The lack of written evidence for histories from the point of view of the peoples of northern Europe means that much of the evidence presented here is from the Roman perspective. Thus, when any type of contact is examined through literary evidence, social constructivism theories come into play. As Paul Burton pointed out, the rhetorical or personal nature of these texts is not necessarily a hindrance: instead, they show how the Romans constructed the world around them.¹⁶⁸ Chapter 2 examines how the background of individual authors, as well as the influence of past representations, can affect how they chose to depict the people who lived in the Danubian-Pontic regions.

There is not a single approach to the evidence when using constructivist theories as there are many different facets which can be applied to different events. However, one of the main ones which will be employed in this chapter is that of Social Constructivism. As mentioned above, the idea of social constructivism was formulated by Peter L. Berger and

¹⁶⁷ Elsner (1995) examined how different experiences and backgrounds of viewers could lead to different interpretations of the same image.

¹⁶⁸ Burton (2011) pp.24-25.

Thomas Luckmann in 1966 in their work *The Social Construction of Reality: A Treatise in the Sociology of Knowledge*. The two argued that humans are social beings who exist within societies, meaning that how individuals come to understand the world around them is influenced by pre-existing social conventions and institutions.¹⁶⁹ Berger and Luckmann also recognised that individuals exist within a society, but argue that self-identity is something which develops out of interactions and communications with others from both within and without one's own community. Thus, individuals are exposed to the customs and norms of the world around them, and this influences how they construct their own sense of reality and self.¹⁷⁰ Similar points have been raised by Tim Whitmarsh, who argued that in the ancient world, one's own local identity was formed more sharply when individuals came into contact with other more global identities.¹⁷¹ Thus, how individual players perceived themselves and the people they were dealing with influenced how interactions could take place. Therefore, Chapters 5 and 6 examine whether the Roman state had universal diplomatic language and approaches, or whether these differed depending upon past contact with the people, state or individual involved.

The kings and communities with whom Rome sought friendship or waged war often seem to be one and the same, demonstrating that warfare and diplomacy, despite being considered opposite by modern audiences, were just different approaches to maintaining order throughout the Roman Principate. Furthermore, past contacts with and perceptions of these neighbours could greatly influence both future contact and future representations of Rome's neighbours, from the point of view of the Roman state, and on an individual level.

¹⁶⁹ Berger and Luckmann (1991) pp.210-211.

¹⁷⁰ Berger and Luckmann (1991) pp.36-37.

¹⁷¹ Whitmarsh (2010) pp.1-16.

1.5: Outline and Goals

This thesis aims to argue that the people who lived between the Danube and Black Sea in north-eastern Europe in the first two centuries AD were not universally regarded as simply primitive or unknown.¹⁷² It aims to explore how people of the ancient world came to know about Rome's neighbours, or express what they already knew. It will then investigate how imperialistic or state interaction with the peoples beyond the Roman *limes* altered, or was influenced by, previous representations over the first two centuries AD.

This thesis will take the following structure: Chapter 2 deals with views of the world and the peoples on the edges of the empire. It examines where in ancient texts comments about the customs, politics and history of northern peoples appeared and also asks how literary genre could affect how peoples were presented. It investigates trends or differences across authors, genres and time periods. The fact that many authors from the Imperial Roman period were repeating or embellishing stories seen in earlier Greek sources such as Herodotus does present the idea of the 'timeless barbarian' living along the northern frontier. The chapter investigates fantastical notions¹⁷³ about the peoples to the north and the possibility that there was a correlation between such notions and distance from where the author was writing. It asks whether as contact between the Roman state and border communities increased, then the fantastical notions about them decreased. However, it also investigates the extent to which ancient authors were exploiting their audience's lack of definite knowledge about far off communities; Bram Stoker set his *Dracula* in Transylvania because it was a far-off part of Europe that few people had actually visited, yet people at the time had some notion of its mystical folklore. A similar exploitation could be detectable in ancient texts. For instance, Arrian's *Periplus* of the

¹⁷² *Contra* Roller (2015) p.163; Dan (2015).

¹⁷³ Romm (1994) examined wondrous peoples who were thought to live at the edges of the ancient world.

Euxine Sea cast the barbarians of the Black Sea as degenerate in order to highlight the nobility of the Greeks who lived there.

Literature was not the only way in which people of the Roman world could learn about those they shared it with. Previous works on the topic tend to focus on just one aspect of geographical representations, such as Roller's recent collection of all literary authors mentioning geographical or ethnographical features. However, the peoples of the empire would not be looking at just one medium in isolation from the others. Taking just a historical, literary, iconographic or archaeological approach to the region and interactions is not enough; these approaches need to be combined and compared in order to draw a fuller picture. Therefore, Chapter 3 examines how monumental architecture and allegories could be interpreted by their audiences. It argues that considering how people would be moving through spaces such as the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias and the Hadrianeum in Rome would have affected the impressions they took away about the world, and that the monuments should be viewed as a coherent whole, rather than focusing upon individual characteristics of differing allegories.

The focus of the thesis will then change to how the Roman state officially interacted with these communities, how this affected their representation, and how past representations and dealings in turn affected how the Roman state would relate to its neighbours. While there is of course much to be said for cultural interaction and influences on art, architecture, language, religion and much else, the scope of the work is limited to official interactions with peoples beyond the frontiers: military connections (Chapter 4) and what today would be termed 'diplomatic' interactions (Chapters 5 and 6).

In Chapter 4 the role which the army and warfare played in the representation of peoples on the edges of the empire will be studied. Literature and monumental artwork are not the only ways in which people could learn about, or represent, the ancient world.

Richard Talbert has recently emphasised the need to explore more commonplace objects in order to understand ancient people's worldview.¹⁷⁴ Ellen Swift stated that individuals would use everyday objects to work out their place in society in comparison to others.¹⁷⁵ Therefore, this chapter focuses on other types of texts and objects, including tombstones and military diplomas to demonstrate how different types of experience and evidence once again affected how people from north-eastern Europe were represented. It examines the title *Dacus* in military diplomas in order to discover where geographically the Roman state believed these people lived at the end of the first century AD, before Trajan's conquest of Dacia when the state had the power to dictate officially which lands were 'Dacian.' This can be contrasted with the tombstones set up by Roman soldiers who had fought in Domitian's and Trajan's Dacian campaigns, who used the defeat of these people to justify military honours. In comparison, tombstones from across the Roman world contain the phrase *ex natione Dacus* and so show how people who identified as Dacian would choose to display this aspect of their identity, and how they interacted with their new surroundings following their migrations. It demonstrates that while some individuals were able to form new identities as part of new communities, others remained 'the Other' not just as a result of their origin, but also their social status. The different types of evidence show how the Roman state defined the location of the Dacian people compared to literary evidence and the monumental schemes set up in the imperial capital. They also illustrate different ways in which people could come into contact with their neighbours, be it through warfare, as fellow soldiers, or as members of a civic society.

Chapter 5 examines how the Roman state interacted with foreign communities along the frontiers in what would today be referred to as 'diplomacy'.¹⁷⁶ There has been a new interest in the role which friendship, or *amicitia*, played in such affairs during the

¹⁷⁴ Talbert (2017) pp.3-4.

¹⁷⁵ Swift (2017) p.234.

¹⁷⁶ Eilers (2009) pp.1-3.

Roman Republic, and Julia Wilker has examined the role of personal relationships in the early imperial period.¹⁷⁷ This chapter studies literary evidence of Rome's dealings with representatives of foreign peoples to understand how such friendships were presented. It asks whether it is correct that all communities with whom Rome had dealings were treated in the same way,¹⁷⁸ regardless of whether or not the ruler held the title *amicus sociusque populi Romani* and investigates how these friendships were expressed. The literary sources present them as personal, between rulers, which means that the rules of *amicitia* as expressed by Cicero and Seneca such as *gratia* and *beneficia* become more important. However, evidence from the city of Rome itself in the form of coinage suggests that many relationships were more institutionalised and took place between emperor and entire people. This will also help identify whether people in the Roman centre viewed the rulers and peoples on the edges of the world as subjects or conquests, or whether imperialistic notions of Roman superiority were not always so clear.

Chapter 6 then uses epigraphic evidence from the Bosporan Kingdom in order to gain a deeper understanding of where Rome's neighbours believed their place in the world was. It shows that although rulers of the Bosporan kingdom used the title *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos*, the evolution of this title demonstrates that this was a hereditary one, and an acceptable part of their royal tradition, rather than implying a closer personal friendship with the Roman emperor, or a dependence on and submission to Rome.

By addressing these issues, this thesis will show how the peoples on the edges of the Roman world were viewed by, or presented to, those at the centre. It will give evidence of how Rome interacted with these communities, and in return, what these peoples' conceptions of Rome were. This thesis will investigate whether this interaction changed how the peoples on the edges of the world were viewed as time and circumstances

¹⁷⁷ Wilker (2008) pp.165-185.

¹⁷⁸ Eilers (2009) pp.1-13.

progressed, and what prompted such changes, or if, as stated by Roller, knowledge of the north was simply full of “inconsistencies of interpretation [which] lasted until the end of antiquity.”¹⁷⁹

¹⁷⁹ Roller (2015) p.161.

Chapter 2: Views of the world through different lenses: Geographic Literature

Geographical knowledge has long been linked to Roman expansion and imperialism, as demonstrated by Claude Nicolet's *Space, Geography and Politics in the Early Roman Empire*.¹ Accordingly, as the Principate was formed, a steady shift in how the world was presented to the people of Rome took place and Augustus used geographical knowledge to declare his conquest of Rome to the people of the world (see Chapter 1.1). Thus, knowledge of the world was given a political purpose. This chapter explores two geographical texts from the second century AD in order to discover attitudes towards the edges of the Roman world and those who lived there.

The texts examined will be Dionysius of Alexandria's *Periegesis* and Arrian of Nicomedia's *Periplus Ponti Euxini*. These authors both wrote their works under the emperor Hadrian. Dionysius' text is a mini epic poem which acts as a journey through all the known lands. His themes are Homeric in nature and often link lands to ancient myths or recall the role of the gods in creating them. Arrian of Nicomedia, on the other hand, despite writing his *Periplus Ponti Euxini* at the same time as Dionysius, gives a seemingly stark description of the political and practical aspects of where Roman rule in the Black Sea ends, and the areas which he considered to be loyal to Hadrian. However, below the surface, this text is full of literary tropes and analogies which once again, rely on past myths and conceptions of the people who inhabited his landscapes. These texts show that genre can affect how the Roman Empire and its limits were presented in 'geographic' literature, and that different ways of depicting the world and its peoples co-existed. These differences are down to a combination of literary genre, the aims and styles of the author, and a reaction to contemporary events and concerns. However, they also demonstrate an interplay of

¹ Nicolet (1988) which was translated into English in 1991; cf. Beard (2007).

past, or mythical, and present when describing the Danubian-Pontic region, even after Rome had come into contact with the peoples who lived there, either through diplomacy, warfare or conquest.

The term 'geographical literature' is a modern one (see 1.3). Elizabeth Rawson has previously emphasised that what are termed 'geography' and 'ethnography' in modern thought were often found side by side in ancient texts, as well as combined with historical and mythological descriptions.² Indeed, Katherine Clarke highlighted the close connection between the two genres and also argued that classical scholars' definitions of 'geography' have in the past been too narrow.³ In contrast, in 1992, James Romm argued that geographic literature was its own genre, but that the majority of it was fiction, rather than based on observation or accurate knowledge.⁴ Past discussions of 'geography' and geographical knowledge in the ancient world have emphasised the accuracy or inaccuracy of descriptions of the ancient landscapes. Yet Anca Dan has convincingly argued that such autopsy and accurate information was in fact not a key part of the ancient genre of geography and that ancient authors should not be criticised for not visiting the places they described.⁵ As can be seen in Arrian's discourse on the northern shore of the Black Sea, direct observation was not a necessary part of geographical writings. Furthermore, Clarke drew links between the role of geographical knowledge and historical genre, even if ancient authors saw them as different disciplines. Danielle Dueck has also described how what modern audiences would define as geographical knowledge can be found in a variety of texts and she split these genres into descriptive and mathematical geography, though she also acknowledged the importance of cartography.⁶ However, to do this, Dueck used a

² Rawson (1985) p.250.

³ K. Clarke (1999) pp.3-4; Dueck (2012) p.2.

⁴ Romm (1994) [originally published 1992] pp.3-7; *contra* Dueck (2012) p.3.

⁵ Dan (2015) p.135. On the other hand, autopsy was vital to Herodotus, Thucydides and Polybius.

⁶ Dueck (2012).

modern definition of geography as “literally a written or drawn description of the earth.”⁷ This does not necessarily translate exactly onto what ancient authors saw as ‘geography.’ Yet, as Dueck pointed out, the ancients did not have a clear description of ‘geography’ and so she called upon her readers to distinguish between ancient and modern concepts.⁸ In reality, knowledge about – or impressions of – the physical landscape and the peoples who occupied it could be found in a variety of ancient texts,⁹ as demonstrated for example in Sallust’s *Jugurthine War* when the author made a detour from his narrative to describe the landscape and inhabitants of Africa.¹⁰ However, he commented that knowledge of the world was only important because it was required for his narrative. Accordingly, because Africa was seldom visited, Sallust did not feel the need to describe it in any detail.¹¹

Yet, with this caveat in mind, ‘geographical’ is a useful heuristic term for the texts discussed in this chapter as both aimed to discuss the physical layout of the world and the people who inhabited it. This chapter investigates the effect of Roman conquest and imperialism on texts which describe the Danubian region and its inhabitants. It will argue that there were multiple ways to view both the layout of the world, and the people who inhabited it, which depended upon the individual aims and agendas of the authors. This chapter further demonstrates that this was also due to individual authors’ location in relation to Rome and to the places they were describing. For instance, it is known that Arrian came from Nicomedia, on the south coast of the Black Sea. Yet, his description of the area emphasises the triumph of Greek culture over *barbaroi*. Thus, it is entirely possible

⁷ Dueck (2012) p.1.

⁸ Dueck (2012) pp.1-2.

⁹ Dueck (2012) p.2.

¹⁰ Sallust, *De Bello Iugurthino*, 17.1-2.

¹¹ Sallust, *De Bello Iugurthino*, 17.2: *Sed quae loca et nationes ob calorem aut asperitatem, item solitudines minus frequentata sunt, de iis haud facile compertum narraverim.*

that this author created an idea of barbarians against which to define his own superiority in a time when Greeks were navigating their own importance under Rome.¹²

The influence of Rome's conquests, administration and imperialism can be felt in texts. Ideas about the purpose, and location of the edges of the Roman Empire have been well debated.¹³ Instead, this work asks how the world was divided by the literary authors of the Principate, with a focus on the Hadrianic period. At this time, Arrian described Roman power as ending at its last military fort,¹⁴ emphasising the role of Rome and its military when dividing the world, while at the same time Dionysius of Alexandria emphasised the natural features of the world as laid out by the gods over manmade units.¹⁵ However, this chapter also explores how these authors would build upon past representations of the peoples and physical landscapes in the Danubian-Pontic region when writing their own descriptions of the world. David Braund has demonstrated how geographical knowledge and myths combined to give the Romans a sense of their frontiers.¹⁶ Continuing this line of thought, this chapter argues that when the Danubian-Pontic regions are represented in the surviving literature, the ideas created about their inhabitants depend both on past representations as seen in the Greek authors, and reactions to the contemporary Roman Empire. For instance, Dionysius of Alexandria placed the Dacians and Alani next to races such as the Tauri and Neuri, whose tales had been told since the time of Herodotus. The poet also used short epithets to create ideas about the peoples who lived to the north of the Danube and Black Sea. But for these to make sense to his audience, they would already

¹² Bowie (1974) pp.208-209; Swain (1996) p.409 saw the Second Sophistic as an expression of Hellenism in contrast to Roman rule. cf. Bowersock (1969) who saw The Second Sophistic as Sophists acting as mediators between provincial cities as Rome. Whitmarsh (2005) pp.1-22 for the history and development of the term 'The Second Sophistic'.

¹³ Luttwak (1976); Dyson (1985); Isaac (1990); Whittaker (2004).

¹⁴ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 17.2-3.

¹⁵ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll. 26-27.

¹⁶ Braund (1989) pp.31-41; (1986) pp.38-46 discussed both the practical reasons for Arrian's positioning of troops and forts, as well as ancient fascination with the Caucasus and its myths which could also encourage Roman interest in an area. Rawson (1985) p.217 emphasised that myth and 'history' were often intertwined.

have had to understand the previous tales told about the peoples who lived here, so cultural memory – knowledge of events of a mythical past shared by a community which becomes part of that community's tradition¹⁷ - comes into play. Arrian of Nicomedia drew contrasts between the heroic past of Achilles and the distant past of Herodotus,¹⁸ and the reality of living in the region under Roman rule since he often discussed the military power of the cities in the region, and commented on where the mastery of Rome ends. He also openly cited Herodotus and Aeschylus when discussing the mythology and history of the region. The geographical tradition in this instance was manipulated and used by the author in order to emphasise his 'Greekness' against the backdrop of the well-known tales of barbarians from this region, whilst at the same time, using the contemporary world and lists of kings and barbarians to show the power of Rome, with whom the author also aligned himself.

Therefore, while authors describing the world and the Danubian-Pontic region were heavily influenced by past representations, this was not the only factor that determined how the people from this area were depicted. Added to this should be the contemporary climate of the Roman empire, the aims and background of individual authors and the audience's desires for wonders to exist in the world. Throughout all of these texts, there is an interplay of the past and present which helped to shape representations of this region.

2.1: Dionysius of Alexandria and Cultural Memory

Dionysius of Alexandria, also known as Dionysius Periegetes, wrote his description of the world in 1186 lines of Greek. It was previously thought that he had written this work under Domitian based on the emphasis upon the victory of Flaccus over the Nasamones in

¹⁷ Assman (2012) pp.4-6; Chaniotis (2009) p.255.

¹⁸ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 18.2.

Africa in AD 86.¹⁹ However, more recently it has been assigned to the reign of Hadrian because the author keeps referencing Gades, where Plotina came from and near Hadrian's *patria* of Italica.²⁰ Furthermore, Antinous' homeland is mentioned when the Rhebas River in Bithynia is discussed at length, again suggesting a Hadrianic connection.²¹ Dionysius himself has been identified as the director of the imperial libraries in Rome and imperial secretary.²² In Late Antiquity the poem was translated into Latin and it was popular in Early Modern Europe.²³ Its brevity is probably the reason for this; it offers an overview of the whole world in fewer than 1200 lines. It is a didactic literary work which borrows from hymns and epics, especially Homer, as well as Hellenistic poets and itinerary-style descriptions of the world, ethnography and historiography.²⁴ Thus, Dionysius is reliant on past depictions of the peoples of the world and this can clearly be seen in his descriptions of the Danubian-Pontic region. This is a theme which can be seen in previous 'geographic authors' under the Roman Principate. For instance, Pomponius Mela, who wrote under Claudius, heavily used Herodotus for his description of the region's landscape and people. Yet, Dionysius did not simply repeat past tales. Instead, he evoked his audience's preconceptions of the region and then works more contemporary events into this. Thus, while he appeared to reject some notions of Rome's Empire, – such as its administration and boundaries – he was nevertheless influenced by them.

Dionysius did not seem to approve of the artificial boundaries created by mankind, but was dealing with the world as laid out by the gods:

¹⁹ Tozer (1897) pp.281-282. Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 67.4.6.

²⁰ Bowie (1990) p.71; Birley (1997) p.253. Birley (1997) p.240 believed that the poem can be linked to Hadrian's visit to Alexandria.

²¹ Lightfoot (2014) p.4.

²² Dueck (2012) p.29; Bowie (1990) p.78.

²³ The text was used to educate pupils during the eighteenth century, as recorded by Dr John Free's title of the text: *Tyrocinium geographicum Londinense, or, The London geography, consisting of Dr. Free's Short lectures, compiled for the use of his pupils, to which is added by the editor, translated from the Greek into English blank verse, the Periegesis of Dionysius*.

²⁴ Lightfoot (2014) p.7.

Τοῖα μὲν ἀμφ'οὔροισι βροτοὶ διεφηνίξαντο/πάντη δ'ἀχαμάτου φέρεται ῥόος
Ὀχεανοῖο.

Mortal men make known such things about the boundaries, and truly all around the flowing waters are carried by tireless Ocean. – Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll. 26-27.

Αὐτοὶ γὰρ καὶ πρῶτα θεμεΐλια торνώσαντο,/καὶ βαθὺν οἶμον ἔδειξαν ἀμετρήτοιο
θαλάσσης./ αὐτοὶ δ'έμπεδα πάντα βίῳ διετεκμήραντο...

For they (the gods) first rounded the base/and produced the deep tract of the immense sea/and composed all things for life to a certain order... - Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.1170-1172.

This second passage is clearly influenced by Homer's ecphrasis of the shield of Achilles in the *Iliad*, which describes the works of the gods depicted on the shield in the form of the earth with its cities and peoples, farmland, heavens and oceans, all bound by the edges of Achilles' shield.²⁵ Although Dionysius also marked out the continents as separated by rivers, he made no mention of political or military boundaries created by men in the form of provinces or empires. Furthermore, when discussing Rome, he referred to the people of Latium and emphasised the Tiber River that flows through Rome before the man-made unit itself.

Τοῖς δ'ἔπι μέρμερον ἔθνος ἀγαυῶν ἐστὶ Λατίνων,/γαῖαν ναιετάοντες ἐπήρατον, ἧς
διὰ μέσσης/ Θύμβρις ἐλίσσόμενος καθαρὸν ῥόον εἰς ἄλλα βάλλει,/ Θύμβρις
ἐϋρρείτης, ποταμῶν βασιλεύτατος ἄλλων,/ Θύμβρις, δε ἱμερτὴν ἀποτέμνεται
ἄνδιχα Ῥώμην,/ Ῥώμην τιμήεσαν, ἐμῶν μέγαν οἶκον ἀνάκτων,/μητέρα πασάων
πολίων, ἀφωειὸν ἔδεθλον.

The people of strong Latium follow them, being very rich, / inhabiting a charming land, through the middle of which/ the waves of the beautiful Tiber send out transparent streams to the sea. / The beautiful water of the Tiber, standing out majestically from other rivers./ The Tiber, which divides delightful Rome into two parts,/ revered Rome, the great home of my people,/ the mother of all cities, an opulent place. - Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.350-356.

The repetition of *Θυμβρις* draws the readers' attention to the passage, highlighting the importance of this land. The Tiber is repeated in the prominent position at the beginning of the line each time, rather than *Ῥώμη*. However, the repetition of *Ῥώμη* when it appears at the end of line 354 then is the first word on line 355 ensures that attention is also paid to the city. This contrasts with the way Dionysius described Athens later, where the city was

²⁵ Homer, *Iliad*, 18.448-617.

not mentioned, yet the river flowing through Attica, the 'divine Ilissus' was described instead: *πρόσθε γε μὴν Ἰσθμοῖο πρὸς αὐγὰς Ἀττικὸν οὕδας, τοῦ διὰ θεσπεσίου φέρεται ῥόος Ἰλισσοῖο*.²⁶ Dionysius could not ignore the contemporary power of the Roman Empire. This power of the Romans is often emphasised throughout the poem. The Roman people are described as Dionysius' masters (*ἀνάκτων*), 'risen from Zeus' (*ἐκ Διὸς Αὐσονιῆος*).²⁷ However, here the use of Ausonians refers to the Italian people as a whole, rather than just the Romans.²⁸ Dionysius did mention recent Roman victories, such as Flaccus' victory over the Nasamones in North Africa,²⁹ or Trajan's defeat of the Parthians.³⁰

The lack of political boundaries in Dionysius is evidence that the literary genre can greatly affect how the world was depicted in texts describing the world. In this poem, Homeric influences combine with contemporary events. Dionysius' poem recalls the catalogues seen in Homer.³¹ It records lists of lands and peoples at a rapid pace, with very little ethnographic, geographic or narrative information added. Dionysius does not seem to suggest that the Roman Empire covered the whole world but does speak of the world as one whole unit. Furthermore, he fully admitted that there is much about the world that remains unknown: *Τόσσοι μὲν κατὰ γαῖαν ὑπέρτατοι ἄνδρες ἔασιν/ἄλλοι δ' ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα κατ' ἡπείρους ἀλόωνται/μυριοί, οὐκ ἂν τις ἀριφραδέως ἀγορεύσαι/θνητὸς ἔων. μοῦνοι δὲ θεοὶ ῥέα πάντα δύνανται*.³²

²⁶ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.423-424.

²⁷ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, l.78; Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 96.

²⁸ Lightfoot (2014) p.178.

²⁹ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.208-210, *κεῖνον δ' ἂν περὶ χῶρον ἐρημωθέντα μέλαθρα/ἀνδρῶν ἀθρήσειας ἀποφθιμένων Νασαμώνων*, οὕς Διὸς οὐκ ἀλεγοντας ἀπώλεσεν Αὐσονίς αἰχμή. Around that region you might see the destroyed dwellings of the perished Nasamones, on account of whose disrespect of Zeus the Ausonian spears laid waste.

³⁰ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll. 1051-1052: *ἀλλ' ἔμπης κατὰ δῆριν ἀμαιμακέτους περ ἔοντας/Αὐσονίου βασιλῆος ἀπεπρήνεν ἀκωκή*. But although they are irresistible in a fight, [the Parthians] were easily chastised by the spear of the Ausonian ruler (Trajan).

³¹ For instance, the Catalogue of Ships: Homer, *Iliad*, 2.494-759.

³² Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll. 1166-1169.

His divisions of the peoples who inhabit the world do also seem to be influenced by Roman administrative practices and contemporary events, despite his seeming rejection of an administrative or territorial Roman Empire. This is seen when he described ‘northern’ peoples in his work and used the Danube River, referred to as the Ister, as a limit:

Τοῦ μὲν πρὸς βορέην τετανυσμένα φύλα κέχυνται/πολλὰ μάλ’ ἐξείης Μαιώτιδος ἐς
στόμα λιμνης,/Γερμανοὶ Σαμάται τε Γέται θ’ ἄμα Βαστάρναι τε,/Δακῶν τ’ ἄσπετος
αἶα καὶ ἀλκίεντες Ἀλανοί,/Ταῦροί θ’, οἳ ναίουσιν Ἀχιλλῆος δρόμον αἰπύν,/ στεινὸν
ὁμοῦ δολιχόν τε, καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς στόμα λίμνης./Τῶν δ’ ὕπερ ἐκτέταται πολυίππων
φύλον Ἀγαυῶν./ἔνθα Μελάγχλαινοί τε καὶ ἄνδρες Ἴππημολγοί,/Νευροὶ
θ’ Ἴππόποδες τε Γελωνοὶ τ’ ἡδ’ Ἀγαθύρσοι./ ἧχι Βορυσθένης ποταμοῦ τετανυσμένον
ὕδωρ/μίσγεται Εὐξείνῳ, Κριοῦ προπάροιθε μετώπου,/ὄρθον ἐπὶ γραμμῇ
κατεναντία Κυανέων./ Κεῖθι καὶ Ἀλδήσκοιο καὶ ὕδατα Παντικάπας/ Ῥιπαίοις ἐν
ὄρεσσι διάνδιχα μορμύρουσι./ Τῶν δὲ παρὰ προχοῇσι πεπηγότος ἐγγύθι
πόντου/ἡδὺφαις ἤλεκτρος ἀέξεται, οἷα τις αὐγὴ/ μήνης ἀρχομένης. ἀδάμανά τε
παμφανόωντα/ἐγγύθεν ἀθρήσειας ὑπὸ ψυχροῖς Ἀγαθύρσοις./ Ἰστρου μὲν
τοσσοῖδε βορειότεροι γεγάασιν./πρὸς δὲ νότον Γέρραι καὶ Νωρίκι
ἄστε’ ἐρεμνά,/Παννόνιοι Μυσοὶ τε, Βορειότεροι Θρηίκων...

From here to the northern bank many peoples are scattered, stretched one after another to the limit of the mouth of Maeotis, the Germans, Sarmatians and the Getae and at the same time the Bastarnae, the unspeakably great land of the Dacians and the bold Alani and the Tauri who abide the high and steep course of Achilles, narrow and long and to the mouth of their swamp. Above these the tribe of knights of Agau are stretched. Here the Melanchlainoi and Hippemolgoi men, the Neuri and the Hippopodes and the Gelonoi and Agathyrsoi, where the waves of the Borysthenes River remaining open are mixed with the Euxine, before Criumetopos, through a straight line and the region of the Cyaneai. From there, the waters of Aldescus and Panticapes murmur in two ways into the Rhiphean mountains. From here towards the promontory, near the frozen sea, shining amber grows, like the rays of the beginning moon, bright, adamant, near the cold Agathyrsees. So many people live north of the Ister, To the south are the Gerrhae and the dark towns of Noricum, Pannonians, Mysians to the north of the Thracians... - Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.302-321.

The people who inhabit the north of the Danube river are clearly differentiated from those who exist to the south. As can be seen, the southern *ethne* names seem to be derived from Roman provinces,³³ such as the people of Noricum, the Pannonians and the Thracians.³⁴ While no clear administrative distinctions are drawn, there is nonetheless a strong ‘Roman’ influence in how the southern peoples are presented and the ethnic names of the provinces are highlighted. Furthermore, the people to the south of the river live in ἄστε

³³ Lightfoot (2014) p.328.

³⁴ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.321-323.

ἐρμυνά (fortified towns),³⁵ while the barbarians to the north simply exist in φυλα (tribes).³⁶

Links between ideas of urbanism and civilization in Roman times have been long-established (see Chapter 2.3).³⁷ For example, Pausanias, in the second century, wrote about how Panopeus in Greece should not be considered a 'real' city as it has no government, baths or agora but instead its inhabitants live in cabins³⁸ and Tacitus also commented that the Germani had no cities.³⁹

It is in this northern section that people such as the Dacians, who had been conquered in AD 106, along with the Getae and Bastarnae, are found. The Getae are mentioned in the writings of first-century Pliny the Elder and later in Cassius Dio and the Bastarnae are described by the *Res Gestae* as seeking friendship with the Romans.⁴⁰ Furthermore, the tombstone of Tiberius Plautius Silvanus describes how Roman intervention against the Sarmatians on the side of the Bastarnae and Rhoxolani saw the return of the king's relatives.⁴¹ While it could be stated that Dionysius' division shows a neat view of the peoples to the north of the *limes*, Dionysius throughout the poem was concerned with contrasts: barbarians versus civilized peoples, north versus south, east versus west. Furthermore, as Lightfoot has pointed out, although the Dacians' land had been part of the empire since Trajan's conquest in AD 106, they are still grouped with the northern tribes neatly placed above the Danube rather than with the other provincial communities below the river.⁴²

³⁵ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, l.321.

³⁶ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, l.302.

³⁷ Wolfram Thill (2017) p.175 examined Dacian architecture on Trajan's Column and noted that urbanism and such amenities are lacking in depictions of Dacian strongholds.

³⁸ Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, 10.4.1. Pretzler (2007) pp.92-93 argued that Pausanias described this city in this way because its present did not live up to its Homeric past.

³⁹ Tacitus, *Germania*, 16.

⁴⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 4.80-81; Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 51.22.6-7; *Res Gestae*, 31.

⁴¹ *ILS* 986.

⁴² Lightfoot (2014) pp.328-329.

It is noteworthy that the 'real' peoples with whom Rome was currently interacting are listed alongside more mythical peoples by Dionysius. This serves to illustrate the strength of myths in ancient geographic thought. However, Dionysius does not include any tales about these peoples, relying instead simply on short epithets. Therefore, if his audience wished to know about the characteristics of these people, they would have to have had some prior knowledge. Similar lists of peoples in this region appear in first-century authors such as Strabo⁴³ and Pliny the Elder.⁴⁴ Yet, Dionysius recalled Homer, whose catalogue of ships in the *Iliad* lists many different nations.⁴⁵ The fifth-century BC historian Herodotus is also often recalled for this section of his poem.⁴⁶ Herodotus described the Tauri,⁴⁷ Neuri,⁴⁸ Geloni⁴⁹ and Agathyrsi⁵⁰ and names them all as Scythian nations who withstood Darius.⁵¹ Apparently the Tauri delighted in war and plunder and impaled the heads of shipwrecked Greeks on poles. A similar account can be seen in Pomponius Mela who was writing under Claudius,⁵² and there is also Euripides' *Iphigenia among the Taurians* where the Tauri participated in human sacrifice.⁵³ The Neuri could supposedly turn themselves into wolves for a few days a year;⁵⁴ once again, this story was repeated by Pomponius Mela,⁵⁵ but no mention of this tale was made by Dionysius. The poet gave no more detail about them. The Hippiemolgi (*Ἰππημόλγοι*) are mentioned in the *Iliad*,⁵⁶ with Homer describing them as

⁴³ Strabo, *Geographia*, 2.5.30.

⁴⁴ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 4.80-1.

⁴⁵ Homer, *Iliad*, 2.494-759.

⁴⁶ Lightfoot (2014) p.328.

⁴⁷ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.103.

⁴⁸ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.17.

⁴⁹ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.108-110.

⁵⁰ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.7-10.

⁵¹ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.102.

⁵² Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, 2.11.

⁵³ Euripides, *Iphigenia in Tauris*, 275-280.

⁵⁴ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.105; Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, 1.14; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 4.88

⁵⁵ Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, 2.14.

⁵⁶ Homer, *Iliad*, 13.4.4-6.

drinking the milk of mares. This passage has been seen as the earliest example of Greek idealisation of barbarian races.⁵⁷

Thus, Dionysius was using very old sources and recalling legends about the peoples in a contemporary setting. Indeed, he referred to the Romans and Italians as Ausonians and recalled Hesiod who claimed that this race was descended from Zeus,⁵⁸ blurring the mythic past with the present. Yet, the inclusion of *ethne* such as the Dacians and Alani alongside these heroic or mythical races show that Dionysius was not simply presenting the world as it appeared in past Greek authors. Mela's Latin description of the world under Claudius only mentions the Sarmatians in terms of their spatial relationship to other peoples,⁵⁹ but he was unable to give any details about them in the same way he did for people such as the Tauri, owing to his use of Herodotus as a source. This is despite the fact that wars had been fought to the north of the Danube against the Dacians under both Julius Caesar and Augustus.⁶⁰ While Mela attempted to mention contemporary peoples but could not give any further details about them, Dionysius still gave an epithet to the Alani, who inhabited the north east of the Black Sea. Because Dionysius' audience would have to have prior knowledge of this race to understand the epithet, this can go some way in showing how the people of the world interacted with and thought of the Alani.

The epithet given to the Alani is 'mighty/warlike' (*ἀλκηντες*).⁶¹ In AD 72 the Alani invaded Parthia, as described by Josephus.⁶² Seneca previously described them as

⁵⁷ Romm (1994) p.53.

⁵⁸ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, l.78; Hesiod, *Theogonia*, 96. Lightfoot (2014) p.178.

⁵⁹ Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, 1.19, 3.25, 3.55.

⁶⁰ Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, 3.42. The text does mention the Dahae at 1.13 and 3.42 as living near the Scythian desert. In Persian, *dahae* accordingly means 'wolf-warrior' and could be the root of the name 'Dacian.' However, it is not clear if Mela is referring to the Dacians at this point.

⁶¹ Autenrieth (c.2000) p.22, *ἀλκή*: defence, power of defence, prowess. Cunliffe (1923) pp.20-21, *ἀλκή*: prowess in defence or offence, mettle, courage, spirit. Showing of fight, resistance. Fighting. The upper hand, victory.

⁶² Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, 7.244-251.

'barbarous' living on the Danube,⁶³ and in the second century AD Martial referred to them as riding Sarmatian horses when listing peoples from far off edges of the world whom Caelia would be willing to sleep with,⁶⁴ in order to draw a comparison with the Romans. It is known that under Hadrian this race was causing problems. In AD 135 they invaded nearby Media encouraged by the local king of the Iberians, Pharasmanes, so other local rulers had to appeal to Rome for aid (See Chapter 5).⁶⁵ Evidently, they were seen as a threat by Dionysius' contemporary, Arrian, who, as part of his governorship, wrote a treatise, *Ἐκταξίς κατὰ Ἀλανῶν*, which survives in fragmentary form, on tactics which could be deployed against them.⁶⁶ Thus, this race of Alani on the northern shores of the Black Sea was undoubtedly 'warlike' and this epithet could easily play on contemporary events and reactions to them from Dionysius' audience. Yet here, the barbaric nature of these people in other sources seems to have been replaced with a positive attitude.⁶⁷ *ἀλκηντες* has connotations of strength and valour; *ἀλκή* is often used to refer to a people's strength in Homer.⁶⁸ Thus, it would seem that Dionysius was replacing the savage, terrifying nature of the peoples of this region with connotations of their valour,⁶⁹ supporting Erich Gruen's hypothesis that greater importance was placed on the positive aspects of 'the Other' in antiquity than previous works on alterity have emphasised.⁷⁰

Later in the poem Dionysius again listed people who live along the north littoral of the Black Sea.

⁶³ Seneca, *Thyestes*, 629-630: *an feris Hister fugam/ praebens Alanis*. Giving flight to the wild Alani. Tarrant (1985) p.182 commented that Seneca was conflating the Alani with the Rhoxolani who inhabited the northern borders of Moesia.

⁶⁴ Martial, *Epigrammata*, 7.30.6: *Nec te Sarmatico transit Alanus equo*.

⁶⁵ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 69.15.1-2.

⁶⁶ Bosworth (1977) pp.217-255.

⁶⁷ Lightfoot (2014) p.331.

⁶⁸ See n.60. It should be noted that *ἀλκηντες* in this form is not used in Homer; thus, while Dionysius is influenced by the epic poet, he does not simply copy his terminology but adapts it. A similar idea can be seen at l.682 when Dionysius described the Achaei were given the epithet *Ἀρητιάδης* (sons of Ares), repurposed from Homer, *Odyssey*, 16.395 where the epithet appears to mean son of Aretias. Lightfoot (2014) p.416.

⁶⁹ Lightfoot (2014) p.331.

⁷⁰ Gruen (2010).

Ἦτοι μὲν λίμνης Μαιώτιδος ἄγχι νέμονται/αὐτοὶ Μαιῶται τε καὶ ἔθνεα
 Σαυροματάων,/ ἐσθλὸν ἐνθαλίου γένος Ἄρεος. ἐκ γὰρ ἐκείνης/ ἰσθίμης φιλότητος
 Ἀμαζονίδων ἐγένοντο,/τὴν ποτε Σαυρομάτησιν ἐπ'ἀνθρώποισι μίγησαν,/ *π*
*π*λαγχθεῖσαι πάτρηθεν ἀπόπροθι Θερμοώδοντος./ τοῦνεκα καὶ παῖδες
 μεγάλῃτορες ἐξεγένοντο,...

Near Lake Maeotis is the territory/of Maeotae and Sauromatian tribes,/ A noble
 race of warlike Ares, sprung/ from the redoubtable embrace of Amazons,/ When
 once they joined with Sauromatian men,/ Driven far from homes beside
 Thermodon's banks./ Great-hearted sons were therefore born to them... -
 Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.652-658.

Σαυρομάτας δ'ἐπέχουσιν ἐπασσύτεροι γεγαῶτες/ Σινδοὶ Κιμμέριοί τε καὶ πέλας
 Εὐξείνιοι/ Κερκέτιοι Τορέται τε καὶ ἀλκήεντες Ἀχαιοί,/οὓς ποτ'ἀπὸ Ξάνθοιο καὶ
 Ἰδαίου Σιμόεντος/ πνοαὶ νοσφίσσαντο νότοιο τε καὶ ζεφύριοι,/ ἐσπρομένους μετὰ
 δῆριν Ἀρητιάδῃ βασιλῆϊ./ τοῖς δ'ἐπὶ ναιετάουσιν, ὁμόουριον αἶαν ἔχοντες,/ Ἠνίοχοι
 Ζύγιοι τε, Πελασγίδος ἔκγονοι αἴης.

Next follow, bordering the Sauromatae,/ Sindi, Cimmerians, and, near the Euxine,/ *C*
*C*ercetians, Toretae, and bold Achaei,/ whom once from Xanthus and from Simois/
 Blowing from Ida, south and west winds sped,/after the war in Ares' royal son's
 train./ Their neighbours, bordering on their territory,/ are Heniochi and Zygii, of
 Pelasgid stock. - Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.680-686.

In this section, all of these peoples were mentioned in first-century Strabo,⁷¹ except for the Cimmerians, who according to Strabo were a former people.⁷² Again, Dionysius was happy to blend time when describing the area. The Sauromatae also appeared in Herodotus.⁷³ The previous author gave far more detail about how captive Amazons turned on their Greek captors and then landed on the shores of Lake Maeotis and married Scythian men, becoming the mothers of the Sauromatae. Dionysius mentioned this exceedingly briefly and he does not try to impose up-to-date subdivisions as authors such as Mela⁷⁴ or Pliny the Elder⁷⁵ do. Thus again, he was not creating a detailed account of the evolution of old races up until present day but giving a rough overview of the land. For his audience to understand it, they would need prior knowledge. But, as with the Alani, these peoples were not savage barbarians but *παῖδες μεγάλῃτορες* (great-hearted sons) who were descended

⁷¹ Strabo, *Geographia*, 11.2.1.

⁷² Strabo, *Geographia*, 11.2.5.

⁷³ Herodotus, *Historia*, 4.110-116.

⁷⁴ Pomponius Mela, *Chorographia*, 1.116.

⁷⁵ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 6.19.

from Ares, the Greek god of war.⁷⁶ The use of such epic epithets lends a certain degree of awe and honour to the bellicose nature of these people, rather than them being a danger, as Arrian depicted them (See 2.3). The use of ancient sources and the mixing of past and present races also helps to remove the peoples of this region such as the Dacians and the Alani, against whom Rome had fought, into a heroic past, where their warlike nature is to be praised, rather than feared.

Furthermore, the use of exceedingly short epithets means that Dionysius is not attempting to inform his audience of new information about the world. Instead, these titles call upon cultural memory and his audience's knowledge, or impressions, of this region to make sense of his work.⁷⁷ Angelos Chaniotis explained that cultural memory describes events of a mythical past shared by a community which has become part of that community's tradition⁷⁸ and Aleida Assmann's work emphasised that cultural memory is one that transcends generations and can be seen in normative texts, unlike communicative memory which is more word of mouth.⁷⁹ Cultural memory relies upon allusion to already known tales or characteristics but is reinforcing past ideas. Because of the brevity of Dionysius' epithets for each of the peoples he mentions in his work, if his audience is unaware of the tales about these people seen elsewhere, they would not understand these epithets.

2.2: Arrian of Nicomedia and the 'Greekness' of the Black Sea

Another view of this region is seen from Hadrianic times. Arrian of Nicomedia was the governor of the Roman province of Cappadocia.⁸⁰ As part of his role here, he wrote to the emperor Hadrian a letter in Greek, which was accompanied by a Latin report of the region.

⁷⁶ Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.652-654. This connection to Ares could explain why the Achaei, who were also descended from Ares, share the epithet *ἀλκηντες*. Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.682-686.

⁷⁷ Lightfoot (2014) p.5.

⁷⁸ Chaniotis (2009) p.255.

⁷⁹ Assmann (2012) p.4.

⁸⁰ *PIR*², F 219.

But within the more personal letter there were still details of the Black Sea coastline in the form of a *periplus*. Yet, unlike the traditional model which follows the coastline, Arrian divided his region into three areas. From this text, a practical view of the Roman Empire as a military unit with clear borders can be seen, in clear contrast to Dionysius' claims that the world was laid out by the gods. Arrian listed the border of Roman 'mastery' as a military camp. Despite this text being written at the same time as Dionysius of Alexandria's *Periegesis*, a very different impression of the region develops, both in terms of Rome's presence and influence there – which was barely mentioned in Dionysius – and the peoples who occupy the landscape. Rather than using only mythological peoples that his audience already knew about, Arrian attempted to give a description of the contemporary situation, with kings who were loyal to Hadrian and those who were not. This focus is very different to the mini epic poem seen above. Furthermore, whilst Dionysius described all the peoples who supposedly filled the area to the north of the Black Sea, Arrian instead emphasised its emptiness. Yet, this text is not simply a stark description of the landscape as Arrian observed it, and the author used many literary techniques in order to display the people and the region in a way that suited his aims. His text once again recalls past stories of barbarians, but Arrian quoted the authors as a way to show his own Greekness and *paideia*, whilst at the same time describing the contemporary situation in order to show the power of the Romans, with whom he also aligned himself and his responsibilities as a provincial governor.⁸¹

⁸¹ Rood (2011) p.138.



Figure 4. Map of the Black Sea at the time Arrian was writing. Original image from Stadter (1980).

Arrian began his account from Trapezus in the south east of the Black Sea, describing it as a colony of the Sinopeans.⁸² He then continued anti-clockwise around the coast until he reached Dioskourias⁸³ in the east of the region.⁸⁴ In this first section the traditional *periplus* model seems to have been followed: Arrian gave details of the distances between the cities and ports, as well as the sailing conditions in the region.⁸⁵ However, he also seems concerned with the forts positioned along the coast and the status of the military.⁸⁶

Ἐκ Τραπεζοῦντος δὲ ὁρμηθέντες τῇ μὲν πρώτῃ εἰς Ὑσσου λιμένα κατήραμεν καὶ τοὺς πεζοὺς τοὺς ταύτῃ ἐγυμνάσαμεν. ἡ γὰρ τάξις αὕτη, ὡς οἶσθα, πεζῶν ἐστὶν καὶ ἱππέας εἴκοσιν ὅσον εἰς διακονίαν ἔχει. ἀλλὰ καὶ τούτους τὰς λόγχας ἀκοντίσαι ἐδέξην.

Having set out from Trapezus, at first, we put into port at Hyssos and trained the infantry there. For that cohort, as you know, of infantry also has twenty cavalry, as

⁸² Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 1.1.

⁸³ This city is described by Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 6.15 as *nunc deserta*. Braund (1989) pp.31-32 believed this was due to incursions from the people of Colchis or the disorder brought about by the civil wars of AD 68-69.

⁸⁴ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 11.4.

⁸⁵ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 3.2.

⁸⁶ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 4.1 also mentions an abandoned fort at Athenai: καὶ φρούριόν τι ἐστὶν ἡμελημένον.

much as in service. It was also required that they throw their javelins. – Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 3.1.

Καὶ ἤλθομεν πρὸ τῆς μεσημβρίας σταδίους πλείονας ἢ πεντ[ή]κοντα καὶ δι[α]κοσίους εἰς Ἄσπαρον, ἵνα περ αἱ πέντε σπεῖραί εἰσιν ἰδρυμέναι. Καὶ τὴν μισθοφορὰν τῇ στρατιᾷ ἔδωκα καὶ τὰ ὄπλα εἶδον καὶ τὸ τεῖχος καὶ τὴν τάφρον καὶ τοὺς κάμνοντας καὶ τοῦ σίτου τὴν παρασκευὴν τὴν ἐνοῦσαν.

And we came before midday more than [two hundred] and fifty stades to Asparus; there five cohorts are stationed. And I gave wages to the army and I saw the weapons and the walls and the ditch and the weary men and the preparation of food which was there. – Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 6.1-2.

Τὸ μέντοι φρούριον αὐτό, ἵνα περ κάθηνται τετρακόσιοι στρατιῶται ἐπίλεκτοι, τῇ τε φύσει τοῦ χωρίου ὀχυρώτατον εἶναι μοι ἔδοξεν, καὶ ἐν ἐπιτηδειοτάτῳ κεῖσθαι πρὸς ἀσφάλειαν τῶν ταύτῃ πλεόντων. Καὶ τάφος διπλῇ περιβέβληται τῷ τείχει, εὐρεῖα ἑκατέρα. Πάλαι μὲν οὖν γήινον τὸ τεῖχος ἦν, καὶ οἱ πύργοι ξύλινοι ἐφειστήκεσαν. Νῦν δὲ ἐκ πλίνθου ὀπτῆς πεποιήται καὶ αὐτὸ καὶ οἱ πύργοι. Καὶ τεθεμελίωται ἀσφαλῶς, καὶ μηχαναὶ ἐφεισῶσιν, καὶ ἐν ὀλίγῳ πᾶσιν ἐξήρτυται πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ πελάσαι ἄν τινα αὐτῷ τῶν βαρβάρων, μήτι γε δὴ εἰς κίνδυνον καταστῆσαι πολιορκίας τοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ φρουροῦντας.

However, the fort itself, where four hundred chosen soldiers are stationed, appeared to me to be very secure, due to the nature of the land, and to lie in the most suitable place for the security of those sailing to here. And a double ditch has been thrown around the wall, each as wide as the other. The wall was long ago earthen, and the wooden towers were placed upon it. But now both it and the towers are made out of baked brick. And the foundations are steadfast, and battle engines have been installed, and in short, it is fully equipped so that none of the barbarians should approach it, let alone to protect those keeping watch there against the danger of a siege. – Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 9.3-4.

As can be seen, Arrian often described the state the forts were in and listed improvements he made, especially when he reached Phasis, which accordingly had four hundred troops stationed there. Arrian went into great detail about the defences and how, in his opinion, the fort was ‘fully equipped to prevent any of the barbarians from even approaching it’ (πᾶσιν ἐξήρτυται πρὸς τὸ μηδὲ πελάσαι ἄν τινα αὐτῷ τῶν βαρβάρων).⁸⁷ Not far from Phasis was the territory of the Alani⁸⁸ and it is known that Arrian wrote another treatise, his *Ἑκταῖς κατὰ Ἀλανῶν* about how the army should be drawn up should these tribes invade

⁸⁷ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 9.4.

⁸⁸ Cf. Braund (1989) p.35 who described the Alani as “outside the Black Sea world”; Bosworth (1977).

Roman territory.⁸⁹ These are the same Alani whom Dionysius of Alexandria describes as bold/strong/warlike (See 2.1) and whom Cassius Dio reports invading Roman territory in AD 135.⁹⁰ Thus, Arrian's concern for the strength of the military in the area shows that Dionysius was using contemporary events in order to grant an epithet to these people which his audience would understand.

The five cohorts stationed in Asparas also suggests that the Roman state was concerned about the region. This city was neighbouring Iberia, ruled by Pharasmanes who is known to have had considerable influence over the region.⁹¹ Furthermore, as discussed in Chapter 5, the king's relations with Hadrian do not appear to have been very smooth. Therefore, five legions could easily have been stationed here as a deterrent to the king, as well as to the Sannoi, whom Arrian claims did not wish to pay tax to Rome, showing that the use of diplomacy and military were often coupled in this region.

In section 11 of the *periplus*, Arrian made notes of some of the tribes found in the area. For the majority of them, he gave no ethnographical details. He simply listed the peoples he encountered, giving the name of their king. Many of these kings are described as *ὅς τὴν βασιλείαν παρὰ σοῦ ἔχει*.⁹² It seems Arrian was making a list of those kings who were loyal, or at least obedient, to the emperor and Rome. As will be discussed in Chapter 5, the fact that some kings are described as holding their kingdom from Rome but others are not demonstrates the importance of more 'diplomatic' dealings in this region, coupled with threats of military strength. For instance, Pharasmanes is listed as the ruler of the

⁸⁹ Braund (1989) pp.33-4 suggested that the preparations were made at Phasis because of problems in the region of Colchis at this time.

⁹⁰ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 69.15.1-2.

⁹¹ Braund (1989) p.35.

⁹² Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 11.2-3: Malassas of the Lazoi; Julianus of the Apsilai; Rhesmagas of the Abascoi; Spadagas of the Sanigai.

Zyritai,⁹³ but was evidently not holding this title on behalf of Trajan or Hadrian. Yet, the *SHA* describes Hadrian's dealings with the ruler according to the rules of *amicitia* (See Chapter 5), showing that these types of dealings were not just for kings with whom Rome had an official alliance or friendship. This idea of a balance between diplomacy and military strength is seen in Arrian since, generally, this first section reads as if written by a man who was concerned for the strength of the Roman army in this far-off part of the empire. It seems very practical advice, written to an emperor who was concerned about barbarian incursions into his territory and encouraged his soldiers to be in a state of readiness through constant practice drills and a cult of *Disciplina*.⁹⁴

The next section begins with Byzantium, on the Hellespont, and travels east along the south coast back to Trapezus. It also seems to end Arrian's personal account;⁹⁵ the first-person descriptions of sailing conditions seen in the first part of the text are replaced by the third person 'there is.' Chapter 17.2-3 ends Arrian's account of the Roman 'controlled' territory along the south coast of the Black Sea. Accordingly, the furthest outpost of Roman 'mastery' (*ἐπικράτεια*) was the camp (*στρατόπεδον*) of Dioskourias:⁹⁶ *εἰς ὅπερ στρατόπεδον τελευτᾷ Ῥωμαίοις ἡ ἐπικράτεια ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσπλεόντων εἰς τὸν Πόντον* (at this camp the mastery by the Romans ends, on the right as one sails into the Pontus). This illustrates that Arrian was depicting the Roman Empire more as a military unit, with clearly demarked boundaries. This sentence is interesting because of the language used; *στρατόπεδον* implies a physical place: an army camp. Yet, *ἐπικράτεια* is a more abstract concept of power, rather than simply 'territory'. Xenophon, after whom Arrian modelled

⁹³ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 11.1 lists the Sannoi as being a tribe without a king, the Machelones and Heniochoi ruled by Anchialos and the Zyritai ruled by Pharasmanes. It is known that Pharasmanes was also the ruler of the Iberians (See Chapter 5 for Hadrian's dealings with him) and so his influence in the region must have been considerable. Liddle (2003) pp.9-10, 105.

⁹⁴ Speidel (2006) p.91.

⁹⁵ Dan (2015) p.135 on how geographical treatises need not involve observations on the part of their authors.

⁹⁶ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 17.2-3; Millar (1996) p.164.

himself,⁹⁷ used this term often to refer to authority, or ownership⁹⁸ and Polybius used it to mean victory, or superiority over another race.⁹⁹ Here Arrian gave a physical limit to an abstract idea. He defined the limits of Roman power as a military line. This shows a marked difference from the writings of Dionysius, who, although he was clearly influenced by Roman expansion and conquest, did not acknowledge its effect on how the world is divided.

Arrian's account continues beyond this fort which ends Rome's control. Here Arrian felt the need to justify this decision to continue with his literary journey, claiming that he did so in case Hadrian was planning any expansion or activity along the northern coast of the Black Sea following the death of Cotys II of the Bosporan Kingdom (See Chapter 6 for the kingdom's relationship with Rome).¹⁰⁰

ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπυθόμην Κότυν τετελευτηκέναι, τὸν βασιλέα τοῦ Βοσπόρου τοῦ Κιμμερίου καλουμένου, ἐπιμελὲς ἐποίησάμην καὶ τὸν μέχρι τοῦ Βοσπόρου πλοῦν δηλῶσαί σοι, ὥς, εἴ τι βουλευόιο περὶ τοῦ Βοσπόρου, ὑπάρχῃ σοι καὶ τόνδε τὸν πλοῦν μὴ ἀγνοοῦντι βοθλεύεσθαι.

When we learned that Cotys, king of the so-called Cimmerian Bosphorus, had died, I carefully tried to make visible the voyage as far as the Bosphorus for you, in case you decide something about the Bosphorus, you should not be able to begin without knowing its course. – Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 17.3.

Arrian had a different concern from Dionysius of Alexandria in his work and a different view of the world: it was very much being viewed by the governor as divided into 'controlled by Rome' and 'not controlled by Rome.' He was seemingly listing the conditions on the ground for practical reasons, in case Hadrian wished to increase Roman dominion, or in case the surrounding peoples should invade Roman lands. This shows a clear awareness of the limits of Roman power in this region, though future expansion has not been ruled out. It also aligns Arrian with 'Roman' or imperial interests in the region.

⁹⁷ Bosworth (1995) p.3; Rood (2011) pp.137-160; Stadter (1980) pp.27-28, 53-54.

⁹⁸ Xenophon, *Cyropaedia*, 5.4.28, talking about controlled territory; Xenophon, *Anabasis*, 7.6.42, talking about the might of the enemy compared to the Heracleides.

⁹⁹ Polybius, *Historiae*, 12.25.3 describing the victory of the Carthaginians over Sicily.

¹⁰⁰ Liddle (2003) p.119.

Yet, as with Dionysius, there is still evidence that Greek myths and past authors were being used by Arrian. Often the author linked the region to heroic tales. For instance, he described where the anchor from the Argo could be seen but was careful to comment that he does not believe this to be the original.¹⁰¹ This account of the Black Sea was written from Cappadocia. Given his proximity to the peoples he was describing and his concern for the political and military situations in the region, it would be expected that Arrian would provide more “accurate” information about the peoples he encountered. While the text does show a certain degree of practical concern for warlike tribes, as well as a glimpse into Roman diplomacy with local kings (See Chapters 5 and 6), it also recalls Herodotus. For example, when Arrian spoke of Nitike he cited the Greek author, saying that Herodotus claimed that the people who lived here ate fir-cones.¹⁰² This statement makes it seem that Arrian was portraying the ‘timeless barbarian’¹⁰³ living on the north-east coast of the Black Sea in the second century AD. This is because Herodotus had first described this custom some seven hundred years previously. Given Dionysius’ blurring of mythical past and contemporary present when describing this region, this would seem to tie in with such ideas. Furthermore, people such as the Hippopodes, Anthropophagi and Issedones whom Herodotus described also appear in Claudius Ptolemy’s scientific treatise on mapping the world in the second century AD.¹⁰⁴ This shows that tales of ancient peoples seen in earlier writers were still in existence, even in scientific geographical texts. However, whilst previous texts repeat or recall past tales without mentioning their source, Arrian actually cited Herodotus. Thus, something more is seemingly going on here.

¹⁰¹ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 9.2 in the city of Phasis.

¹⁰² Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 18.2: *Καὶ λέγει τοὺτους εἶναι τοὺς φθειροτρικτέοντας. Καὶ γὰρ εἰς τοῦτο ἔτι ἡ δόξα ἢ αὐτὴ ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν κατέχει.* He [Herodotus] says that they are all eaters of fir-cones; and still people hold that opinion concerning them.

¹⁰³ Rood (2011) p.155.

¹⁰⁴ Ptolemy, *Geographia*, 6.16.3-5.

It has been acknowledged that Arrian was concerned with showing off his own *paideia*, or his Greekness and knowledge, throughout his texts.¹⁰⁵ While this was seemingly in keeping with the Second Sophistic,¹⁰⁶ it should be noted that Arrian did not simply explore his Greek identity and cultural superiority to Rome, but also clearly aligned himself with the Roman system,¹⁰⁷ as seen in his comments about the mastery of Rome and the number of kings loyal to Hadrian. Yet at the same time, there is an obvious desire to appear as a cultured Greek in Hadrianic court. Thus, it is entirely plausible that he referenced Herodotus as a way to demonstrate his *paideia*. Elsewhere the *periplus* author also showed off his knowledge of works of art in the Greek cities,¹⁰⁸ and cited Aeschylus' *Prometheus Unbound*, describing where the limit between Asia and Europe was.¹⁰⁹ However, he made no mention of Aeschylus' comments upon the peoples who inhabit the area, such as the Griffins and the Arimapsi. Arrian also distanced himself from this claim of Herodotus by stating that 'people,' rather than himself, still believed that the people of Nitike ate fir-cones. Thus, this may not be evidence that people who inhabited the Danubian-Pontic regions were simple barbarians left over from Greek tales in the minds of geographical authors. Instead, Arrian played upon past ideas of the region in order to put forward his own agenda and show off his knowledge of past Greek authors.

Another way Arrian used the region to show off his own *paideia* was by contrasting his own knowledge of the language and religious practices with those of the local inhabitants, no matter which side of the Roman army camp they fall. For Arrian to be a cultured Greek in the Roman court, he needed barbarians against which to compare himself and this greatly affected how the author chose to depict the inhabitants of the

¹⁰⁵ Rood (2011) p.160.

¹⁰⁶ Swain (1996) p.409; Bowie (1974) pp.208-209.

¹⁰⁷ Stadter (1980) pp.167-169; Rood (2011) p.138.

¹⁰⁸ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 9.1 compared the goddess Phasiane in Phasis to a depiction of Rhea by Phidias in the Athenian Metroon.

¹⁰⁹ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 19.2.

region. It is clear that Arrian did not simply believe that those on his side of the army camp at Dioskourias were civilized, while those on the opposing side were “barbarians.” For example, in the first section of his text, Arrian described how the sailors set out from Trapezous, a Greek city in Cappadocia. This area had been a Roman province since AD 17. Yet here the term ‘*barbaroi*’ was commonly used and Arrian described how they were unable to set up altars correctly and corrupted letters, names and history:

Καὶ οἱ Βωμοὶ ἀνεστᾶσιν ἤδη, λίθου μέντοι γε τοῦ τραχέος, καὶ τὰ γράμματα διὰ τοῦτο οὐκ εὐδὴλα καχάρακται, τὸ δὲ Ἑλληνικὸν ἐπίγραμμα καὶ ἡμαρτημένως γέγραπται, οἷα δὴ ὑπὸ βαρβάρων γραφέν.

The altars are already set up, though in a rather rough stone, and as such the inscribed letters are not particularly clear; the Greek inscription is also inaccurately carved, as if it was written by barbarians.¹¹⁰ – Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 1.2.

ὁ δὲ Ἄψαρος τὸ χωρίον λέγουσιν ὅτι Ἀψυρτος ἐκαλεῖτο...ἔπειτα διαφθαρήναι τὸ ὄνομα ὑπὸ τῶν περιόικων βαρβάρων, καθάπερ καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ διέφθαρται: ὁπότε καὶ τὰ Τύανα τὰ ἐν τοῖς Καππαδόκαις Θόανα λέγουσιν ὅτι ὠνομάζετο ἐπὶ Θόαντι, τῷ βασιλεῖ τῶν Ταύρων...

They say that Apsaros was once called Apsyrtos... Then the name was corrupted by the barbarians who live around there, just as many others were corrupted too; since they say that Tyana in Cappadocia was named Thoana after Thaos, king of the Tauroi... – Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 6.3-4.

It seems here that Arrian was commenting on what it was to be civilized and what it was to be a barbarian: even if the people who live in this city were ethnically Greek, their practices betrayed them. Because they were unable to set up statues or inscriptions correctly, they were acting like barbarians. Thus, Arrian used such ideas of barbarians as a tool by which to define how the Greeks in the area can be civilized. Therefore, Arrian’s clearly defined Roman Empire was not equated with civilization; people who existed within the empire could also display barbarian tendencies. In this case, the background of the author becomes more important when considering how peoples were presented: Arrian, despite working for the Roman imperial court, came from Nicomedia in Bithynia on the south coast

¹¹⁰ Liddle (2003) p.51 translated this line as ‘the Greek inscription is also inaccurately carved, as it was written by barbarians.’

of the Black Sea.¹¹¹ Thus, he was using the surrounding peoples' apparent 'lack' of civilization to enhance his own. At one point he even described how he set up better altars to Hadrian and Rome, as well as statues and temples to Hermes in order to show his positive influence on the region, and superiority to its inhabitants.¹¹²

Furthermore, there is another part of the text in which Arrian described how he was forced to stop at a town called Athens. Here it is the fact that the town was called Athens, and thus recalled the great centre of Greek learning in the Classical Age, that gave it a status beyond a simple deserted and nameless port.¹¹³ The Greeks colonised the Black Sea Region in the 6th century BC, so Arrian's use of 'deserted' could represent the author's view that Greek civilization has been lost and corrupted in this region, just as the people who inhabited the Greek city of Trapezous were beginning to act like barbarians and the language and names of places such as Aspyrtos inside the empire had been corrupted by barbarians. Similar ideas of deserted cities or nameless ports were presented by Arrian along the north coast of the Black Sea. The account on the surface still makes it seem rather dry, with a list of safe harbours where one could take shelter from the north winds, or kingdoms loyal to Rome already such as the Zilchoi, and distances between each point.¹¹⁴ Arrian gave very few details about these places, only occasionally noting that "it used to be a colony of the Greeks."¹¹⁵

ἐνθ' ἔδε ἐς Θεοδοσίαν πόλιν ἐρήμην στάδιοι ὀγδοήκοντα καὶ διακόσιοι. Καὶ αὕτη παλαιὰ ἦν Ἑλλάς πόλις Ἰωνικὴ, Μιλησίων ἀποικος, καὶ μνήμη ἐστὶν αὐτῆς ἐν πολλοῖς γράμμασιν. ἐνθ' ἔνδε ἐς λιμένα Σκυθαταύρων ἔρημον στάδιοι διακόσιοι...

¹¹¹ Bosworth (1995) p.1.

¹¹² Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 1.2-2.2. Liddle (2003) p.92.

¹¹³ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 5.3: ἐχρῆν γὰρ ἄρα μηδὲ τὰς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ Ἀθήνας ὥσπερ τινὰ ὄρμον ἔρημον καὶ ἀνώνυμον. And, thus, we could not sail past Athens on the Euxine like some deserted and nameless anchorage.

¹¹⁴ E.g. Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 18.3: ἐνθ' ἔνδε εἰς Ἀχαιοῦντα στάδιοι ἐξήκωντα, ὅσπερ ποταμὸς διορίζει Ζιλχοὺς καὶ Σανίγας. Ζιλχῶν βασιλεὺς Σταχέμφαξ καὶ οὗτος παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔσχεν. From there to the Achaious is 60 stades, which river separates the Zilchoi and the Sanigai. King of the Zilchoi is Stachemphax and he holds his kingdom for you.

¹¹⁵ Also Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 20.2-3.

From there to Theudosia, a deserted city, is 280 stades. It used to be an Ionian Greek city, a colony of the Milesians, and there is a mention of it in many works. From there to the deserted harbours of the Scythotaurians is 200 stades... - Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 19.4.

In general, Arrian gave a picture of a very sparse and deserted landscape, but one with plenty of harbours should the emperor decide to visit with an army. It has been suggested by Aiden Liddle that Arrian's emptiness could be the result of contemporary raids by the tribes in the area.¹¹⁶ Arrian also wrote another treatise on what to do should the Alani people invade Roman lands.¹¹⁷ However, Liddle also suggested that Arrian simply claimed that the areas were deserted to hide the holes in his knowledge.¹¹⁸ Given that, as mentioned above, observation was not an expected part of ancient geographical writings, this seems an unsatisfactory reason. Furthermore, if Strabo's description of the area is examined, the author in the previous century mentioned the city of Tyras being on Arrian's supposedly "deserted and nameless" stretch¹¹⁹ being near the mouth of the Danube known as Psilon.¹²⁰ This city was accordingly flourishing in the first century AD and it is strange that Arrian should not have heard of this place. Given Dionysius' description of the region as filled with many peoples, Arrian's stark landscape must be a deliberate choice.

A similar pattern of empty cities can be seen in Strabo who often report the 'ruins' (*ereipia*) of cities in Greece.¹²¹

αἱ τε γὰρ πόλεις ὑπὸ τῶν συνεχῶν πολέμων ἠφανίσθησαν, ἔνδοξοι γενόμεναι πρότερον, τὴν τε χώραν οἱ γεωργήσαντες ἐκλελοίπασιν ἐξ ἐκείνων ἔτι τῶν χρόνων ἐξ ὧν εἰς τὴν προσαγορευθεῖσαν Μεγάλην πόλιν αἱ πλεῖσται συνωκίσθησαν. Νυνὶ δὲ καὶ αὕτη ἡ Μεγάλη πόλις τὸ τοῦ κωμικοῦ πέπονθε καὶ ἔρημία μεγάλη· σὺν ἡ 'Μεγάλη πόλις.'

¹¹⁶ Liddle (2003) p.128.

¹¹⁷ Bosworth (1977) p.219 argued that because Arrian did not mention the Alani in his *Periplus*, then they were not yet a threat in the region.

¹¹⁸ Liddle (2003) p.128.

¹¹⁹ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 20.3.

¹²⁰ Strabo, *Geographia*, 7.3.16: οἱ δὲ προσικοῦντες τῷ ποταμῷ πόλιν φασὶν ἀνιόντι ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι σταδίου. But the people who live near the river speak of a city one hundred and twenty stadia inland.

¹²¹ Alcock (1993) pp.145-147.

...for the cities which had previously become held in high esteem, were hidden by continuous wars, and those who farm the land have abandoned the place since the times when the most cities were joined together into what is called The Great City. But now the Great City itself was affected by the comic poet and 'The Great City is a Great Desert.' – Strabo, *Geographia*, 8.8.1.

He described Megalopolis as 'the Great Desert.' He equated existence with political independence, so 'extinct' cities to Strabo could mean that the people had vanished, or their political rights had changed as seen with his description of the cities of Boeotia.¹²² Abandoned cities here are thus a rhetorical device and given that not all of the cities which Arrian described were deserted, a similar *topos* is probably being employed. In this way, the cities are not really abandoned; they have just lost their Greekness. Arrian's desire to appear as a cultured Greek in the Hadrianic court meant that the people he was writing about had to appear distinctly non-Greek and barbarous, showing how the aims of the author could affect how peoples were presented.

Therefore, the different presentations of the Black Sea region in the texts of Arrian and Dionysius show that how peoples were presented in the second century could be affected by the aims of the author, as well as by their location and level of contact with the region. Yet the prominence of Greek models and myths seen in the above texts serves to emphasise the role of such tales in geography; they may be literary devices, but tales of timeless societies beyond the North Wind, or drinkers of mare-milk still formed a prominent part of how people of the Roman Principate viewed and understood geographical knowledge and their world.

2.3: Conclusions

This chapter has demonstrated that there was no one clear way in which literature depicted the peoples who lived in the north-east of Europe in the second century AD. Despite both texts falling into James Romm's 'geographic literature' or Danielle Dueck's

¹²² Strabo, *Geographia*, 9.5.12.

'descriptive geography' and also coming from the same period, they give very different impressions of the region. Clearly, representations were constantly evolving and depended not only on the genre of the literature, but also on the interests of the author and reactions to contemporary events. Arrian's description of the Black Sea is very different from Dionysius' owing to their different genres and aims: Dionysius was heavily influenced by Homeric catalogues and poetry and uses cultural memory to show that the region to the north was full of peoples, whose bellicose nature need not necessarily be a bad thing. Meanwhile, Arrian's writings show the Roman practical concerns of dealing with, and retaining power over, foreign peoples, as well as a way to use 'barbaric' customs to define what it is to be Greek. In this case the context of the Second Sophistic and ideas of what it was to be Greek heavily affected how Arrian portrayed his foreign peoples, and also raises questions of who could be a barbarian: it was not simply people who existed outside his militaristic Roman Empire. Dionysius used archaic language and tales to cast the people of the northern regions as warlike, but also bold and mighty for it, rather than a threat. It was not simply the case that those outside the Empire were dangerous warlike barbarians while those inside were civilized. Dionysius' reliance on cultural memory and Homeric influences, demonstrated through simple epithets for the peoples he describes, as well as his reliance on Herodotus and past Greek authors, show that mythologies played a key role in the presentation of both geographical knowledge and the peoples of the known world during the second century AD.

Dichotomies similar to past versus present and warlike versus wondrous representations of the people from the Danubian-Pontic region are seen in other types of evidence. Whilst Danielle Dueck touched upon other ways in which knowledge of the world and the peoples who inhabited it could be preserved or transmitted in the ancient world, this work now turns to explore some of these in the form of monumental artwork (Chapter

3) and everyday documents (Chapter 4). It will show that once again, seemingly opposing views of the region and its inhabitants could exist side by side.

Chapter 3: View of the World Through Different Lenses: Monumentality, Allegories and Attributes

As demonstrated in the previous chapter, how the world was divided and how the peoples of north eastern Europe were presented in the geographic literature of the first two centuries AD depended very much on the desires, aims and experiences of individual authors, rather than simply being down to accurate observations and knowledge of this region. However, literature was not the only way ancient communities could learn about the world, nor is it the only resource available to modern scholars to evaluate what ancient communities knew about their surroundings,¹ and so this chapter will now explore artwork, namely public monuments depicting allegorical *ethne* or *nationes* of the world.

There were a number of these across the Roman world, including the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias which was set up for the worship of the Julio-Claudian emperors with Aphrodite, or the Hadrianeum in Rome set up under Antoninus Pius. Personifications of *ethne* were common in the ancient world.² Another way foreign peoples could be depicted on monumental public artwork is as ‘real’ people, rather than as personifications. These can be seen in monuments such as Trajan’s Column in Rome. There have been debates as to whether depictions of ‘the Other’ in Roman artwork show conquered enemies, or whether they emphasise non-Romans participating peacefully in the Roman world.³ Furthermore, another common view is that as time went on, one generic barbarian image developed in Roman thought, with trousers and a beard, and that such imagery came to represent any community with whom Rome was at war.⁴ However, this chapter will argue

¹ Talbert (2017) investigated how sundials can be used to reconstruct what was known about the physical layout of the world.

² Gardner (1888); Toynbee (1934) pp.7-23; Smith (1988) pp.70-77, (2013) pp.114-118.

³ Ferris (2003), (2009) pp.131-150; Rose (2005) pp.21-67.

⁴ Ferris (2009) pp.15-16.

that, just as depictions in literature depended upon the author's aims and knowledge, how foreign peoples were depicted on public monuments depended upon the type of monument, where it was set up and its local and political context. Furthermore, how such monuments were understood and interpreted was influenced by the experience of those viewing the monument.

It investigates whether there were imperialistic overtones in the presentation of northern communities in Roman art and literature, arguing that although Nicolet posited that under Augustus, geographical knowledge was associated with conquest and had a political dimension,⁵ in fact once again the context of the monuments or the genre of literature also greatly affected how these 'barbarians' were presented to Greco-Roman audiences of the first two centuries AD. Furthermore, as demonstrated by Charles Rose, it became popular under Augustus to present the idea of foreign nations participating in peace, rather than being conquered.⁶ This chapter examines whether this practice continued throughout the first two centuries AD, again arguing that it very much depends upon the nature and context of the monument: the Dacians may appear peaceful in the context of the religious Sebasteion, but on Trajan's Column in Rome, which was set up to celebrate their defeat, they are depicted as particularly bellicose. The role of the audience and how such monuments were experienced is also a key area of study which is often overlooked. It is correct to say that a lot of knowledge can be gained from close visual examinations of such monuments. However, placing them outside a museum context and considering how ancient audiences would have experienced the monuments can give new insights into people's ideas of the physical layout and political makeup of the *orbis terrarum*.

⁵ Nicolet (1991).

⁶ Rose (2005) pp.21-67.

Thus, this chapter firstly uses the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias to examine how an audience's surroundings could affect how much they interacted with public monuments depicting the peoples of the world. It then considers whether close visual study of individual attributes held by personified allegories of the world, such as those on the Hadrianeum in Rome, is the best way to learn what people in Rome in the second century AD would have understood about their Empire, and finally it considers how attributes depicted on monuments, such as the Dacian lupine standard, relied upon similar ideas in other media to convey their messages, and how a viewer's background and experiences could alter how such attributes were interpreted or displayed. This chapter demonstrates that there were different ways of viewing the world and Roman territorial power, as well as the limits of this power, under the Roman emperors. While the previous chapter demonstrated that this depended upon a variety of circumstances including literary genre, author's viewpoint or geographical location, this chapter demonstrates how the context and differing use of a monument could alter audience perceptions and thus, their understanding of the world.

3.1: Allegories, *Nationes* and the Roman Emperor

The first type of monuments which will be considered are those related to the worship of the Roman emperors or imperial family. Often, these contained depictions of the peoples who made up the world. For example, the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias is a complex dedicated to the *theoi Sebastoi* of the Julio-Claudian period along with Aphrodite and the Demos of the city. Excavations took place between 1979 and 1982 and an anastylosis of the south building began in 2000.⁷ It was dedicated to the emperor Tiberius during his reign but there is evidence that the two families responsible for its construction

⁷ Kaefer (2016) pp.279-291.

were still working on the project under Nero,⁸ due to the inclusion of Claudius and Agrippina in the reliefs of the south building.

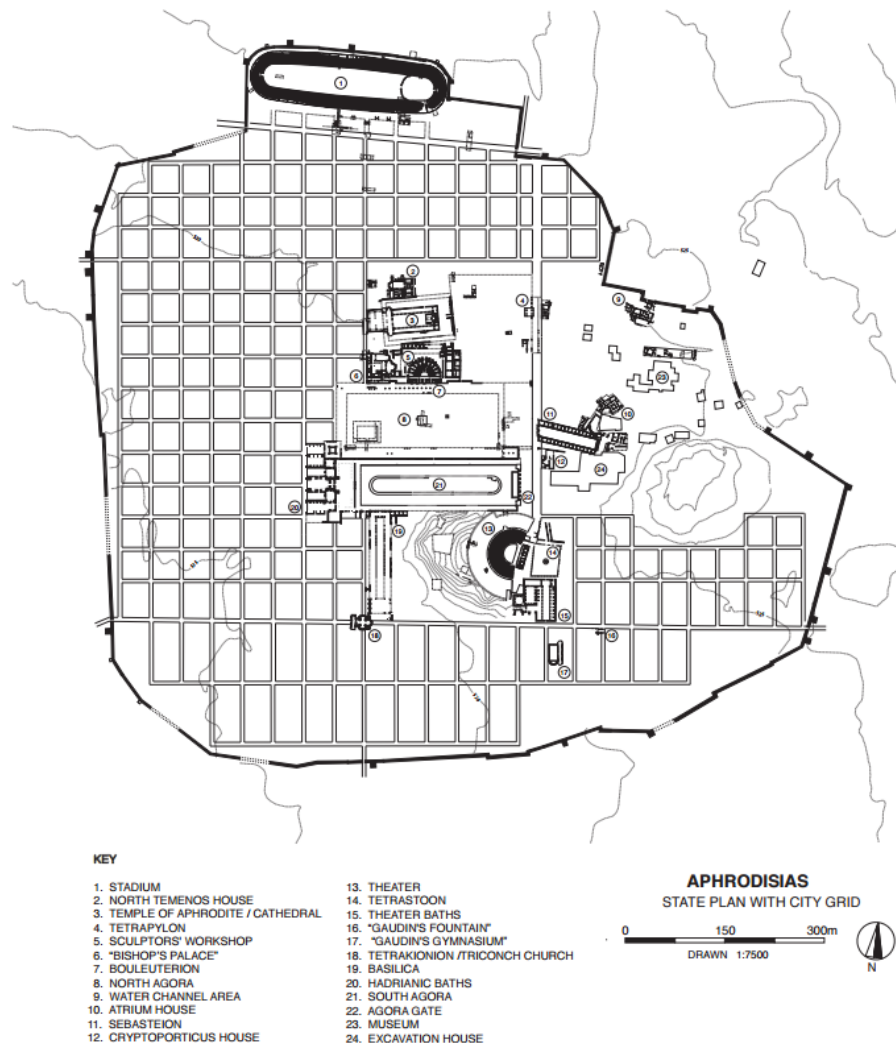


Figure 5. Plan of Aphrodisias. Image from Smith (2013) Fig.1.

Its construction has been dated to between c.AD 20 and 60.⁹ Its form is of a propylon with two porticoes lining a processional way up to the Corinthian prostyle podium temple (Figs. 5 and 15). The north building contained marble reliefs depicting female allegorical

⁸ Smith (2013) p.1.

⁹ Kaefer (2016) p.279, Smith (2013) p.1.

personifications of the peoples who inhabited the Roman world in its second storey, along with imperial scenes and universal allegories on its third storey.¹⁰ This was facing the south building depicting victorious Roman emperors over defeated barbarian nations, on a par with the Olympian gods and scenes from Greek mythology. It is estimated that there were originally one hundred and ninety reliefs, but only about 75% of the south building and 10% of the north Building survive.¹¹ It is believed that originally there were fifty *ethne* reliefs, but now only thirteen inscribed bases (thirteen *ethne* and three islands),¹² five relief panels and several bases with the inscription missing survive.¹³ The personifications of the *ethne* in the north Building are of women in Greek drapery in frontal poses, standing on bases which contain their ethnic identifiers. The overall effect was evidently meant to be a line of statues.¹⁴

¹⁰ Smith (2013) p.1.

¹¹ Smith (1990) p.89.

¹² Smith (2013) p.110-111: *Ethnous Aigy[ptiōn]*, *[Ethnous Aithipōn]*, *Ethnous Anidzetōn*, *Ethnous [Ara]bōn*, *Ethnous Bessōn*, *Ethnous Bosporōn*, *Ethnous Dakōn*, *Ethnous Dardanōn*, *Ethnous Iapdoōn*, *Ethnous Ioudaiōn*, *Ethnous Kallaikō[n]*, *Ethnous Piroustōn*, *Ethnous Rhaitōn*, *Ethnous Trounpeilōn*, *Krete*, *Kypros*, *Sikelia*.

¹³ Smith (1990) p.92.

¹⁴ Smith (1990) p.92.



Figure 6. *Ethnos* of the Pirousti. Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. Image from New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (G. Petruccioli).



Figure 7. *Ethnos* of the Dacians. Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. Image from New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (G. Petruccioli).



Figure 8. *Ethnos* of the Bessi. Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. Image from New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (G. Petruccioli).

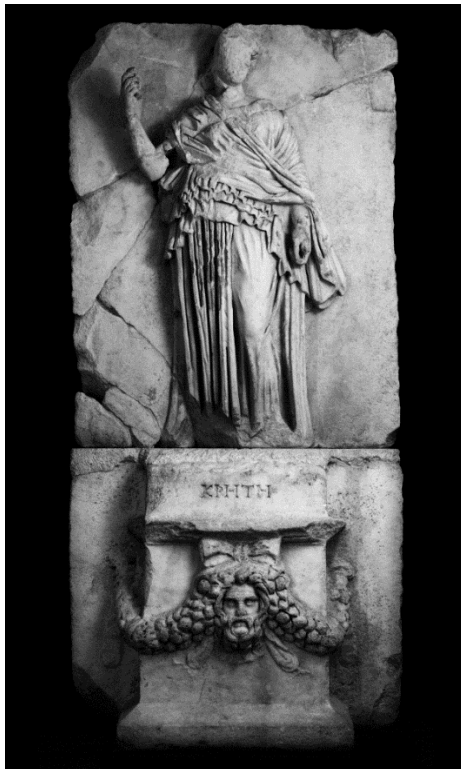


Figure 9. Personification of the island, Crete. Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. Image from New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (G. Petruccioli).

These female representations (Figs.6-9) are clearly allegorical as they differ greatly from depictions of female barbarians on artwork from other contexts, such as Trajan's Column and the Column of Marcus Aurelius in Rome, where the women are presented as 'real' people.¹⁵ On these monuments, the foreign women are not allegorical females to show willing participation in the Empire, but dangerous barbarians who have been defeated by the might of Rome. There is plenty of evidence from the early Principate of foreign nations being cast as submissive to Rome, whether these are personifications or based on real barbarians who would have been displayed in triumphs. For instance, the coinage of Augustus depicted submissive Parthians.¹⁶ Iain Ferris argued that such poses showed the development of the idea that these *ethne* had been conquered by Rome.¹⁷ However, the peoples of the north building of the Sebasteion do not have the overtly submissive features associated with a Roman military triumph and the art which developed from it, which is by contrast how they were portrayed on the south building, bound and under the heel of the Roman emperors (figs. 10-12).

¹⁵ Dillon (2006) pp.244-271.

¹⁶ *RIC I*², 287-289, 304-305, 314-315.

¹⁷ Ferris (2003) pp.59-60.

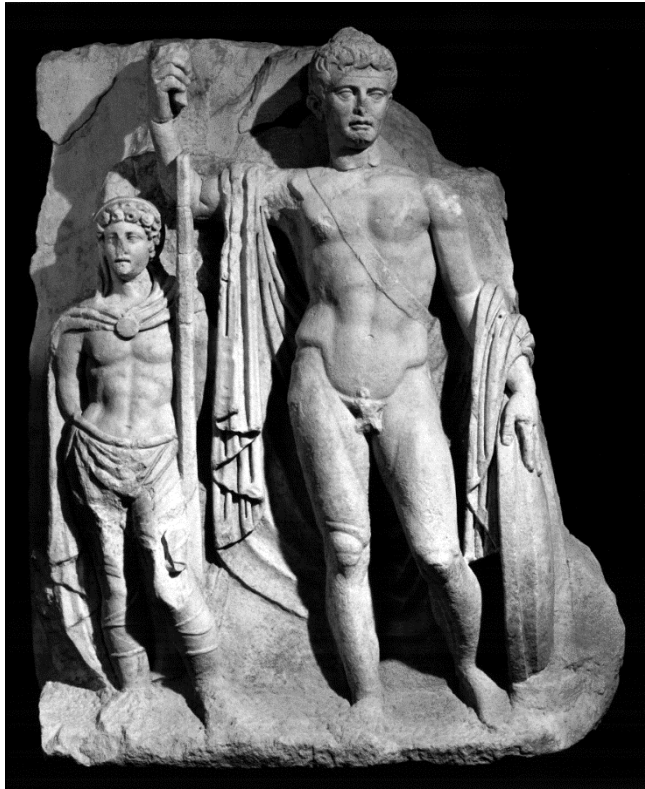


Figure 10. The emperor Tiberius with a conquered barbarian. Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. Image from New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (G. Petruccioli).

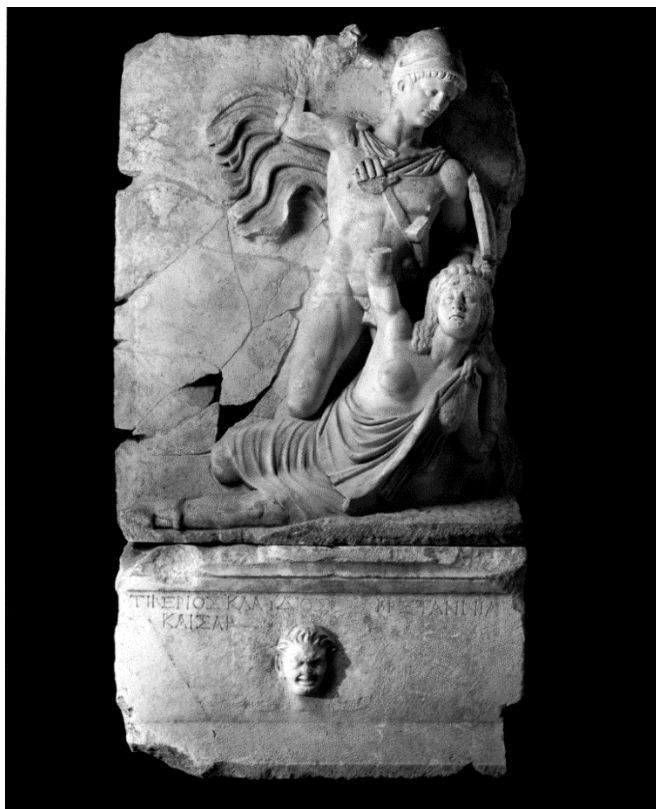


Figure 11. The emperor Claudius conquering the personification of Britannia. Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. Image from New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (G. Petruccioli).

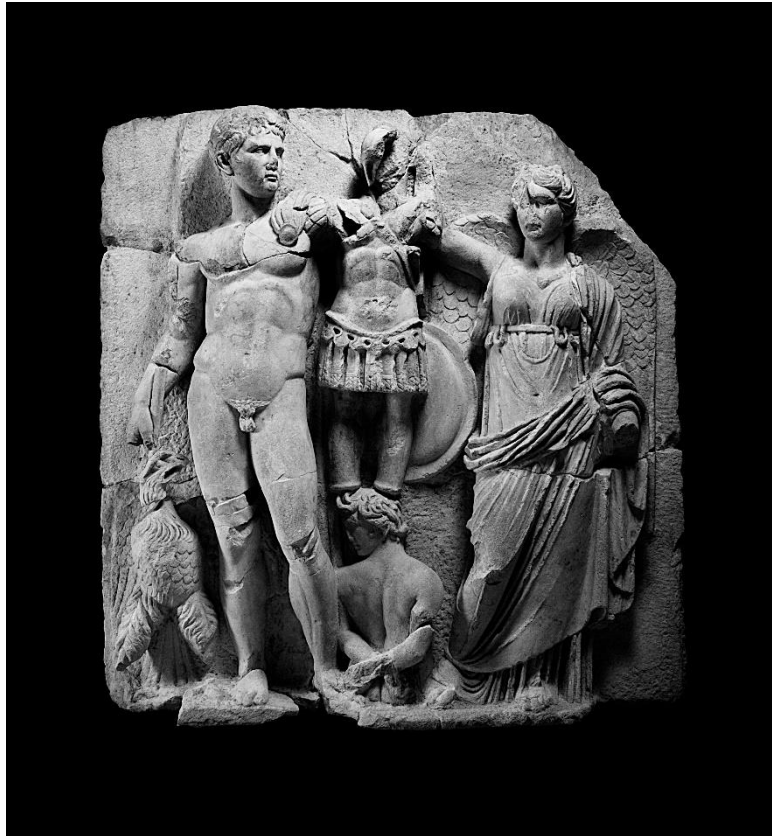


Figure 12. The emperor Augustus with Nike, an eagle, a trophy and a captive barbarian. Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. New York University Excavations at Aphrodisias (G. Petruccioli).

This structure was created at the same time as the north building, but by a different family.¹⁸ The closest to such a submissive pose in the *ethne* of the north building is seen on the Dacian relief, whose arms are crossed in front of her body (Fig. 7). Bert Smith believed that while the reliefs in the Sebasteion were made in Aphrodisias, they would have been copying monuments from Rome, probably the portico *ad nationes* described by Servius.¹⁹ If so, it was not the location of the monument which dictated how foreign peoples were portrayed, but possibly its context and function. These could also shape how the peoples of the *oikoumene* were depicted.

¹⁸ Smith (2013) p.1: Brothers Attalos and Diogenes constructed the south building whilst the north was made possible by the brothers Eusebes and Menandros.

¹⁹ Smith (2013) pp.113-118; Servius, *Grammatici in Vergilii Aeneidos*, 8.721; Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 36.39.

In Aphrodisias, a mix of administrative provinces, islands, cities and areas within provinces can be seen.²⁰ Previous research into the intended meaning of this monument states that it gives a very clear message of empire. Joyce Reynolds argued that all the people seen in the north building represent the victories of Augustus²¹ and Smith described how these personifications, though being deployed in a new way in this monument, evolved from the art pertaining to a Roman triumph.²² Smith also indicated that the depictions of the peoples of the world were distinctly Roman and full of imperialistic messages,²³ arguing that this monument used similar displays of *nationes* previously seen in Rome.²⁴ These personifications are accompanied by imperial themes, including divinities such as Aphrodite, from whom - in her guise as Venus Genetrix - the Roman imperial family claimed descent. Hellenistic allegories of *Oceanus* (Ocean) and *Hemera* (Day), suggest that *Tellus* (Earth) and *Nyx* (Night) may also have been present.²⁵ If so, this whole structure would have had a very strong imperial message about the Roman *imperium sine fine* in terms of space and time. The surviving personifications of *ethne* mostly represent peoples who lived on the very edges of the Roman world, tying into the idea of a far-reaching empire throughout the Julio-Claudian period. Thus, through close visual study of all reliefs along the north and south buildings, Smith concludes that the north building enumerated Roman victories along the edges of the Roman Empire, whilst the south building showed Greek civilization at its centre, displaying Roman rule through a Greek perspective by juxtaposing Roman emperors with Greek myths such as Achilles and Penthesilea or Aphrodite and Eros.²⁶ This structure and cult were a way for the Greek inhabitants of Aphrodisias to work out their relationship in relation to Rome and the other *nationes* of the

²⁰ Smith (2013) p.112.

²¹ Reynolds (1981) p.327.

²² Smith (1990) p.95, (2013).

²³ Smith (1988) p.50.

²⁴ Smith (1990) p.92.

²⁵ Smith (1990) p.92; (2013) p.86.

²⁶ Smith (1990) p.100.

world.²⁷ It demonstrates that conquest was not the only way in which people could be seen as part of the Roman world.²⁸ For instance, not all of the *ethne* on the monument had been conquered at that point: the Dacians had not been annexed to the Empire and the Bosphorans were never conquered.²⁹ Bert Smith instead suggests that the *ethne* selected for the monument represent those known to exist on the edges of the world as a way to show the reach of Augustus and his successors.³⁰ If so, then that would show that to the people of Aphrodisias, the Danubian-Pontic region and the peoples who inhabited it were at the very limits of the world and Roman power.

There has been debate about the homogeneity of these reliefs: their clothing, poses, expressions and hair styles are all remarkably similar. All are in Greek dress, stand straight and look ahead. Smith posited that this was because the Aphrodisians had not heard of many of the *ethne* on the monument, and so used similar models.³¹ However, he also argued that subtle changes in pose or costume amongst the peoples in the north building mark different levels of 'civilization' in the eyes of the Greco-Roman audience³² and that in fact the personifications are "well differentiated by drapery and pose."³³ For instance, it can be seen that the Dacian relief has her arms crossed and her loose drapery is slipping over her shoulder. Thus, it is believed that this means the Dacians were recently defeated and less civilized than the other *nationes* depicted in Aphrodisias, who wear purely Hellenistic drapery and hairstyles.³⁴

²⁷ Smith (2013) pp.7-9.

²⁸ *Contra* Reynolds (1986) p.115 who argued that all the peoples in the north building of the Sebasteion were related in some way to Augustan victories.

²⁹ Smith (2013) p.113.

³⁰ Smith (2013) pp.111-112.

³¹ Smith (1990) pp.92-94. The fact that some of these peoples were not easily identifiable to the craftsmen can be seen in the inscribing of 'ΠΙΠΟΥΣΤΟΝ' behind one of the personifications, to ensure the relief was matched with the correct base.

³² Smith (1988) p.60; (1990) p.95; (2013) pp.89, 113.

³³ Smith (1990) p.92.

³⁴ Smith (1990) pp.94-95, (2013) pp.92-93.

The reliefs today reside in one large hall in the Aphrodisias museum. Furthermore, they all sit directly on the floor, at easily accessible eye-level. Thus, these comparisons between the *ethne* have been made based on the spectators being static, at eye-level with the personifications, and able to study them closely over a prolonged period (Fig. 13).

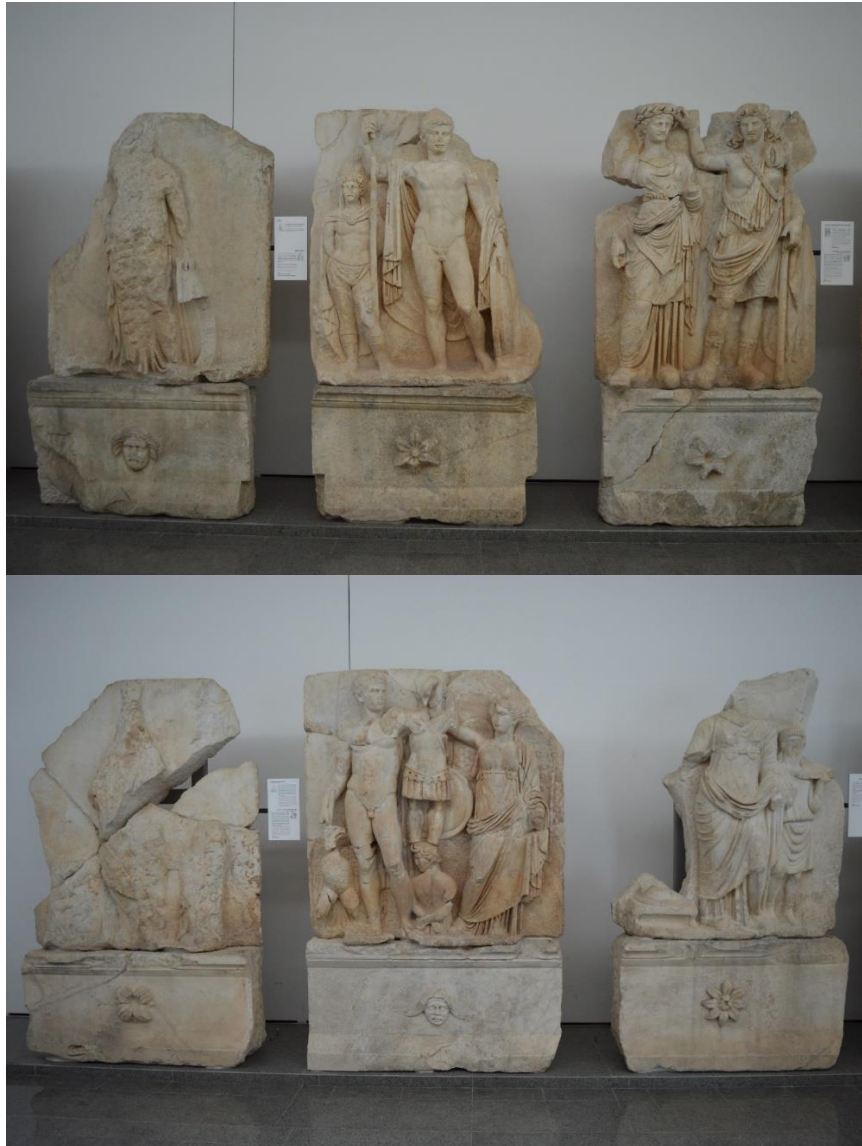




Figure 13. Reliefs and bases from the Sebasteion, Aphrodisias Museum. Photographs Kathryn Thompson.

Jessica Hughes has highlighted the importance of exploring the experience of the viewer at the centre of examinations of allegorical art,³⁵ emphasising that such monuments need to be examined as a whole, rather than each panel individually.³⁶ While visuality is in itself at the heart of such artwork,³⁷ it does ignore other types of experience of such monuments. In ancient times the people experiencing the monument would have been moving, with the images static far above them. Thus, the experience would have been very different to that

³⁵ Hughes (2009) p.1.

³⁶ Hughes (2009) pp.1-17.

³⁷ Bakogiani (2015) p.5.

of modern museum visitors and scholars. The field of museum studies has recently put greater emphasis on removing glass from galleries and placing objects back in their original context. Sarah Dudley, for instance, highlighted that the nature of human experience of museum artefacts needs to be considered.³⁸ She investigated the sensory and emotional aspects of such encounters and how different settings affect the experience, as well as how relationships between audience and objects can be described. Similar ideas should be considered when investigating ancient monuments in order to gain a deeper understanding of the ancient world. Such ideas are beginning to take hold, as demonstrated by the anastylosis of the corner of the south building of the Sebasteion, which was started in 2000. This saw casts and copies made of several of the relief panels which were then placed back in the original architectural framework of the building.³⁹ This was not done to recreate a finished structure, but to gain greater understanding of the building's form and impact on the viewer.⁴⁰ However, just recreating a monument still ignores a large part of how people would have experienced the ancient world and the experiences which would distract the audience from the visuality of such displays.

Turning to the field of sensory studies, Yannis Hamilakis has explored how material evidence can help to recreate the multi-sensorial ways of engaging with the world and how human, non-humans, objects and their surroundings interacted.⁴¹ The French philosopher, Jacques Rancière, argued that aesthetics have a political dimension;⁴² accordingly the 'distribution of the sensible' can dictate an individual's participation in politics or a community by setting divisions between visible versus invisible, audible versus inaudible and sayable versus unsayable.⁴³ In this way, sensory experiences are used to control who is

³⁸ Dudley (2012) p.xxvii.

³⁹ Kaefer (2016) pp.283-285.

⁴⁰ Kaefer (2016) p.290.

⁴¹ Hamilakis (2014) pp.2-5, 13-14, 57-110.

⁴² Rancière (2004) pp.12-25.

⁴³ Rancière (2004) p.14

allowed access to certain rituals or spaces. If this theory is applied to the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, then evidence that the builders of the monument were aware of how it would be experienced by the users during a religious procession can be seen: the architecture attempted to control the kinaesthetic and sensory experiences of its users in order to create an idea about the Roman world and its rulers. Considering such experiences and the monument as a whole, rather than emphasising close visual study, gives an alternative reading of the messages about the peoples which the audience would take away.

The Sebasteion in Aphrodisias was a complex for the worship of the imperial family along with Aphrodite. This is clear in its layout, with an altar and temple at one end of a long colonnade (Fig.15). Its use as a processional way is obvious. It is known that during such processions, in the Greek East at this time, there would have been a garlanded animal led along, with flutes and drums,⁴⁴ and the majority of the community would have been involved,⁴⁵ thus creating a sense of shared experience.⁴⁶ The procession would have generally ended in an animal sacrifice on an altar in front of the garlanded temple:⁴⁷ incense was burned, cult statues were garlanded and fragrant oils were added. This would have been the climax of the ceremony and several recent works have tried to recreate the event to gain a deeper understanding of its significance.⁴⁸ While the procession would have been led along the streets of Aphrodisias and the Sebasteion, there are questions raised over how much attention would have been paid to the reliefs along the processional way. Thus, considering sensory experiences and the role of kinaesthesia can give modern

⁴⁴ Weddle (2012) p.140 discussed evidence for music in the ancient world, including a choir seen on the Diana Tifatina mosaic from the Flavian period.

⁴⁵ Price (1984) p.107-114.

⁴⁶ Toner (2009) p.125.

⁴⁷ *IvEph III*, 814.

⁴⁸ Weddle (2012) pp.137-159 used a modern sacrifice to explore the sensory experience of the ancient ceremony. Toner (2009) p.125 explored how the transfer of senses helped to transmit divinity to the mortals who touched cult statues, or who smelt the sacrifice; Caseau (2014) pp.103-105 applied similar methods to explore how the haptic and olfactory senses could be used to create a link to God in Christianity when the divinity was no longer corporeal. Clements (2015) pp.46-59 investigated how the sense of smell could be linked to divine presence in Greek religion.

audiences a sense of how this monument, with its supposed imperialistic messages, would have been experienced by people in ancient times.

Previous studies dealing with moving processions have primarily dealt with their routes and how they related to other visual monuments associated with the cult, such as Guy Rogers' investigation of the procession through Ephesus and how images of the Roman Emperors and tribes of Ephesus were led past monuments which related to both Roman power and the city of Ephesus itself.⁴⁹ Rogers argued that the images of the Roman emperors and tribes of the Ephesians interacted with the surrounding buildings to create different impressions of the procession's meaning for its participants or viewers, depending on where abouts in the city they were. Kristine Iara discussed the significance of the processional routes for the cults of Rome as they passed across conscious or unconscious boundaries with special significance to the deity, such as the procession of the *transvectio equitum* who passed the temples at Porta Capena, the Forum Romanum and the Capitoline Hill, all places of significance to the gods who were honoured by this procession: Mars, god of war, the Dioscuri, and Jupiter Optimus Maximus.⁵⁰ Thus, there is a clear sense in modern scholarship that surrounding buildings and monuments could manipulate the visual sense in order to create significance for the cult. But added to this should be considerations of how the movement towards the altar, through the streets of the city with its different smells, sounds, sights and textures could affect this experience; in short, how kinaesthesia as well as the surrounding aesthetics could alter the more passive senses and contribute to the audience's reading of the Sebasteion.

Before the sacrifice, the procession would have wound its way through the narrow streets of Aphrodisias, which were mostly 3.5m wide.⁵¹ There would have been a cacophony of sights, smells and noises. Of course, one sense is never experienced in

⁴⁹ Rogers (1991) pp.80-115.

⁵⁰ Iara (2015) pp.125-132.

⁵¹ Ratté (2008) p.32.

isolation from all the others and they could interact to create different experiences or ideas.⁵² As mentioned above, music would have been present. While the tunes played may be lost to modern audiences, it is possible to comment upon the emotional response to music. Kathryn Geurts used the concept *seselelame* to explore this: the passive sense of hearing would have created an emotional reaction, a feeling within the body of those experiencing the music.⁵³ But the reaction would have been subjective. If people had experienced such a procession before then the smells and sounds could help create expectation of what the day might bring based on previous encounters. Thus, memory too played an important role in such events. Beatrice Caseau argued that such memories, created by the senses yet shared by a community, could be transmitted as values which only those who had been present at previous experiences would understand.⁵⁴ Yet, if others had not experienced such a procession before then their reaction to the visual, haptic, acoustic or olfactive stimuli would be different. Furthermore, there is also the possibility that to some the odours or sounds were unpleasant; Martial recorded a dislike for the smell of goat⁵⁵ - an olfactory cliché from the ancient world - which would greatly affect that individual's experience.⁵⁶

The streets of cities in the ancient world were not just for travelling: they were used for everyday activities as well such as trade or eating. Thus, there could be the smells of a bakery or fullery, or of a spice stall, or cooked meat, or even animal waste, either from the sacrificial animal or dogs which may be roaming the streets. Vendors would be shouting to sell their goods, babies crying or dogs barking, people talking or shouting.⁵⁷

While such experiences may not have been conceived as a novelty to a static observer,

⁵² Butler and Purves (2013).

⁵³ Geurts (2005) pp.164-178.

⁵⁴ Caseau (2014) p.91.

⁵⁵ Martial, *Epigrammata*, 6.93.3.

⁵⁶ Bradley (2015) pp.6-7.

⁵⁷ Seneca, *Epistulae*, 56.1-2 lamented the day to day sounds such as vendors selling sausages or confectionary close to his residence over the baths in Rome and Martial, *Epigrammata* 12.57 complained how noisy the city streets of Rome were in comparison to the countryside.

such as one of the vendors who used the streets regularly,⁵⁸ the addition of movement made them more dynamic. These newer encounters would only be experienced for a short time by the audience, before they faded and became replaced by other experiences. Visually, again, the experience would have depended upon where in the procession the viewers were. If they at the front then there would be a relatively clear view of what was up ahead, be it a turn in the road, the agora, gateways, statues relating to civic officials or members of the imperial family. But if viewers were at the back or in the middle of the procession then they would have to strain to see over their fellow participants. Horace protested how hard it was to navigate the city streets owing to crowds.⁵⁹ Therefore, one may not take in as much of the surrounding area, especially if the procession was moving at speed, the streets were narrow, and the viewer was in the middle of a large group.

The everyday sights, smells or sounds may have been background experiences for those who were stationary in the area, but for those taking part in the procession, the addition of movement made them dynamic. Thus, they would stand out as the participants ambled past, but only for a brief period of time before the momentum and motion carried the crowd away from these occurrences towards the main spectacle. The movement itself would have created a sense of anticipation, as anyone who has ever been in a queue at a theme park, or a traffic jam, might experience: there was the idea that the motion itself was progress, but when it ended, the crowd would have reached its destination and the expected sacrifice could take place.

Yannis Hamilakis explored how material evidence can help recreate the multi-sensorial ways of engaging with the world and how this approach was combined with cultural criticism and anthropological studies in the twentieth century in order to

⁵⁸ Bradley (2015) pp.16.

⁵⁹ Horace, *Sermones*, 2.6.27-28.

understand how humans, non-humans, objects and their surroundings interacted.⁶⁰ Thus, the remains of the Sebasteion need to be examined alongside literary descriptions of the events which took place during a religious procession and with consideration of individual experiences. If Jacques Rancière's theory about how individuals' senses can be controlled to political ends is applied to the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, then the architecture can be seen as attempting to control the kinaesthetic and sensory experiences of its users.



Figure 14. Propylon of the Sebasteion, Aphrodisias, Turkey. Photograph Kathryn Thompson.

The Sebasteion was marked off as a separate space from the everyday activities of the city by a monumental *propylon* (Fig. 14).⁶¹ This means that the sense of anticipation created by the movement would have been heightened when this came into view; it would have acted as a sense of climax: the route was almost over and the sacrifice would soon take place. Here the kinaesthetic and aesthetic helped to create a sense of expectancy and eagerness. A visible boundary was being crossed⁶² and the participants were consciously entering the sacred space of the Sebasteion, ready to experience the sacrifice on the other side. The

⁶⁰ Hamilakis (2014) pp.2-5, 13-14, 57-110.

⁶¹ Macaulay-Lewis (2011) p.276. Smith (2013) p.68.

⁶² Iara (2015) pp.125-132.

street beyond the *propylon* is 14m wide, not including the porticoes,⁶³ compared to streets elsewhere in Aphrodisias which were mostly 3.5m wide.⁶⁴ Thus, as soon as those walking in the procession entered through the gateway there would have been a marked change from the experiences of the city-procession. The space immediately would have become more open. Furthermore, there is no evidence that the lower levels of the porticoes were used for shops or businesses. There was little light, and the earthen floors were unfinished.⁶⁵ Consequently, the architecture was trying to dictate how the complex was to be used. It was not for everyday commerce. Therefore, in theory there would have been a decrease in the noise, smells, sights and textures of everyday life such as bars, bakeries, market stalls selling the likes of spices and silk, as well as fewer obstructions in the form of goods spilling out onto the streets or people milling about. However, as Eleanor Betts highlighted, smells and sounds could not be controlled by space in the same way as visual sense could;⁶⁶ while architecture is concerned with visibility, an auditory space has no limits and can be spherical, whereas vision can only be focused in one direction.⁶⁷ And given the proximity of the Sebasteion's *propylon* to the Main Square of the city (Fig. 5), sounds and aromas from this location would have permeated into the processional way, despite attempts made by the architecture to separate it.

Yet the space still would have suddenly become more 'open,' and the fabric would have changed to the smooth marble upon passing through the *propylon*. The *ethne* reliefs would now also be part of the surroundings for the first time in the procession. Kristina Hellerström has conducted research into how people observe their surroundings when travelling: landmarks need to be large, brightly coloured and in stark contrast to their

⁶³ Erim (1986) p.107.

⁶⁴ Ratté (2008) p.32.

⁶⁵ Smith (2013) p.30-31.

⁶⁶ Betts (2011) p.123.

⁶⁷ McLuhan (2005) p.51.

surroundings to attract attention.⁶⁸ It should be remembered that during this procession, surroundings would have been coloured, with polychromy which could be achieved through techniques such as gilding or painting.⁶⁹ Therefore, a sudden change in passive haptic and visual experience achieved by the marble surfaces, wide streets and coloured reliefs high above, coupled with the conscious crossing of a threshold into sacred space, would have made the people taking part suddenly try to take in their surroundings, especially if this was the first time they had taken part in the procession. The senses would have been heightened by the change, or by the unfamiliar surroundings in contrast to the narrow streets.⁷⁰ Yet the question remains, would they have had enough time to admire each relief carefully and to identify or draw conclusions about them? It seems unlikely unless the procession halted, giving people time to admire their surroundings in detail.

As Hellerström has pointed out, when travelling, there needs to be a sudden change for people to take notice. While we do not know how these reliefs would have been coloured,⁷¹ we are able to comment upon the uniformity of them. As noted above, while there were subtle differences in costume between the reliefs, they were unlikely to stand out if people were not paying close attention to them. These peoples, with their similar clothing and expressions were not made to be prominent. Of those that survive, none appear to be given visual precedence. However, as Mark Abbe has demonstrated, other sculptures in Aphrodisias were gilded to give a polychrome effect.⁷² If this technique was applied in the Sebasteion then the imperial and *ethne* reliefs would have glittered in the sun and made a visual impact about the wealth of the peoples who were paying homage to the emperors. However, this means that they would have reflected light. This depended

⁶⁸ Hellerström (2009) p.99.

⁶⁹ Abbe (2010) pp.277-89.

⁷⁰ Betts (2011) p.126.

⁷¹ Bradley (2013) pp.128-132 considered how colour was experienced and evaluated; Abbe (2010) pp.277-289 investigated polychromy on other sculptures in Aphrodisias.

⁷² Abbe (2010) pp.280-284.

upon the position of the sun and the location of the viewer. As one person saw beautiful glittering clothing, another viewer further along the processional route might not have seen the relief; a cloud could have come across or they might have been standing at the wrong angle. Furthermore, the reliefs were positioned high above the viewers on the north building. How much light they received would have depended upon the time of the day: in the afternoons they would have been in the shade and the twelve metres high buildings⁷³ would have cast long shadows over the processional way. Thus, the emotional response intended depended upon changing light, position and movement.⁷⁴

The surviving reliefs show that some would have been holding attributes which could contribute to the audience's knowledge of the known world (See 3.2). But as seen above, this was based on close and repeated visual study. The reliefs in the museum today are at eye height and easily accessible. For the contemporary audience, they would have been far above; the porticoes were some twelve metres high. People would have to crane their necks to the sky in order to consider the attributes or the labels, and when moving in a large crowd there were obvious risks to doing this.

The amount people would have to crane their necks to see the *imagines* on the north building would depend on their position relative to it. As stated above, the processional way is some fourteen metres wide and the buildings, with their three orders, were twelve metres tall. The *ethne* reliefs were in the second storey, beginning some 4.4m above the ground and many were roughly 1.72m tall, with the addition of bases which were between 1.12m and 1.16m tall.⁷⁵ Added to that should be the architectural decoration. Smith has estimated that the ratio between the orders in the three stories was

⁷³ Smith (2013) pp.30-31.

⁷⁴ Hamilakis (2014) pp.76-77.

⁷⁵ Smith (2013) pp.89-91: Pirousti relief H: 172cm, base H: 116cm; pp.91-93: Dacian relief H: 172cm, base H: 113cm; pp.93-95 Bessi relief H 172cm, base H: 115cm; pp.95-97 Krete relief H 173.5cm, base H: 112cm.

10:8:7.⁷⁶ This means that the *ethne* relief base and decorations began some 4.4m above the ground and were roughly 3.6m tall. Therefore, to see the top of the relief, a person, roughly 1.6m tall, standing right below the south building would have to look up at an angle of roughly 28°. On the other hand, people standing further towards the north building, say 1m from the columns, would have to tilt their neck at an angle of 81° in order to see the top of the relief. Individuals in roughly the middle of the avenue would have to face the reliefs and look up at an angle of about 42°. Yet, this is assuming that the viewers are static and turned towards the north building, rather than moving, focusing on what is going on ahead of them and around them.

In reality, the participants of the procession were probably only capable of glancing at the reliefs high above them. When people glance at an object, they are relying on their peripheral vision to pick up details about it and the surrounding landscape, meaning that what is actually seen is unpredictable.⁷⁷ Thus, a close analysis of the dress or attributes of the peoples would not have been possible; it cannot be said for certain that subtle differences in posture, or even just the names of the peoples depicted would have been noticed by the people below. Instead, the visual uniformity would have been more apparent. It would appear that the designers of this monument were aware of such distractions. Ideas are repeated regularly, especially in the south building where a divinely blessed emperor is often seen with Nike or a conquered barbarian. Therefore, if observers in the procession glanced upwards at any given time or place along the avenue, they could gain similar ideas about the power of the Roman emperor. In the south building depictions of conquered nations at the mercy of powerful Roman emperors are often repeated, and the imperialistic message is far more pronounced in this building; there would have been little need for such subtlety as one personification with slipped drapery in the north

⁷⁶ Smith (2013) p.31.

⁷⁷ Hamilakis (2014) pp.79-80.

building. Furthermore, the visual uniformity of the north building makes it unlikely that one relief was used to show Roman might over a foreign nation, such as with the Dacian relief's crossed arms, compared to the other surviving nations which seem to be partaking peacefully in the Roman Empire. While the craftsmen working on the south building chose to emphasise the military might of the Roman emperors through Nike, trophies and submissive barbarians, the north building of the Sebasteion instead emphasised many different peoples willingly participating in empire.

The road may have been much wider through the *propylon*, but the porticoes were twelve metres high. Furthermore, the route was ninety metres long and straight. This must have seemed overbearing at first with the high, imposing portico directing both the movement of the people below, and their sensory experience towards the temple where the sacrifice for the divine emperors who were responsible for the *pax Romana* would take place. For all this time the participants of the procession would have been constantly moving towards the temple at the east end of the Sebasteion, directed by the overbearing architecture.⁷⁸ The fact that the temple, traditionally bedecked in garlands during sacrifices to the imperial family in Asia Minor,⁷⁹ was now in view must again have helped to create a further sense of anticipation which heightened as the procession moved closer. The kinaesthetic aspect here when linked to the visibility of the monument helped to create the expectation that the sensual experience, just like the procession, would culminate in this location. The constant motion meant that people in the procession perhaps did not get a chance to study the *ethne* reliefs in great detail, but their homogeneity and the imposing architecture all led the experience to focus on where the sacrifices to the emperor would take place.

⁷⁸ Hamilakis (2014) pp.70-72.

⁷⁹ *IvEph III*, 814; Price (1984) p.108.

Here the procession halted. This abrupt change in movement would heighten people's attention and senses: the movement would have created a sense of anticipation, but the imposing architecture guiding the procession would have created ideas of the power of the emperors for whom the complex was built. This sudden end to the motion would have allowed people to consider this and remember their route. Those taking part in the ritual had first marched through all of the communities who enjoyed peace on account of the *theoi Sebastoi*, who were capable of defeating the dangerous barbarians who threatened the peace. The repetition of such imagery along the long processional way illustrates an awareness on the part of the designers that the people below may not be focusing on each individual image due to the motion and other sensory experiences of the procession. Yet, the architecture clearly tried to control these experiences, through directing the movement and creating a visual boundary between the complex and the everyday life of the city, even if it could not entirely separate the sounds or smells of daily life.

But processions were not daily. This complex had no lockable gates (Fig.14)⁸⁰ so would have had other uses and thus other sensory experiences depending upon what was going on. As pointed out by Smith, many dedications record that the area was "For Aphrodite, the emperors, and the demos."⁸¹ Its use as an avenue or thoroughfare was constant, whilst processions were occasional. Often in the ancient world streets were not purely for journeys but could be destinations in themselves with activities such as trade, production, eating and politics taking place.⁸² The experience of the city depended upon the time of day and year; at night the experience would have been very different to the day where the streets and *agora* would generally have been hot, especially in summer. In the middle of the day they would have been filled with smells of local shops and noises of

⁸⁰ Smith (2013) pp.11-13.

⁸¹ Smith (2013) p.13.

⁸² Holleran (2011) pp.250-253.

hustle and bustle which would have included traffic going to and from the *agora* as well as people milling about making their living, obstructing the movement.⁸³ Juvenal has his character, Umbricius, complain of such experiences as an everyday part of life in Rome.⁸⁴ But as seen above, the Sebasteion complex was marked off as separate from the activities of the square and street by its monumental gateway (Fig.14), even when a procession was not taking place. The porticoes would have provided cooling shade and casual conversation could have been heard as people used them to meet friends or acquaintances.⁸⁵ Macaulay-Lewis emphasised that porticoes were places of leisure in Rome.⁸⁶ Ovid's *Amores* also speaks of lovers meeting in such places,⁸⁷ creating their own private spaces with conversation which, even if others could hear murmuring, would have to be fairly loud for surrounding peoples to experience fully.⁸⁸ The lack of provision for shops supports the idea that this complex was designed to be a peaceful location, away from the commerce and commotion on the main streets of the city, with a more 'open' feel. Thus, movement inside the complex could have been for leisure, rather than transport, so would have been considerably slower.⁸⁹ These people would have had more time to admire the artwork, which was often displayed in porticoes or temples.⁹⁰ Therefore, the subtle differences noted by Smith could have been appreciated.

However, there is also evidence that people could enter via the east end, behind the temple (Fig.15).

⁸³ Hartnett (2011) pp.135-136.

⁸⁴ Juvenal, *Saturae*, 3.244-267.

⁸⁵ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 1.5.9.

⁸⁶ Macaulay-Lewis (2011) pp.279-283; Martial, *Epigrammata*, 3.20.10-14; Horace, *Sermones*, 1.6.111-131.

⁸⁷ Ovid, *Amores*, 2.2.3-4.

⁸⁸ Betts (2011) p.127.

⁸⁹ Macaulay-Lewis (2011) p.272.

⁹⁰ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 35.102, 109.

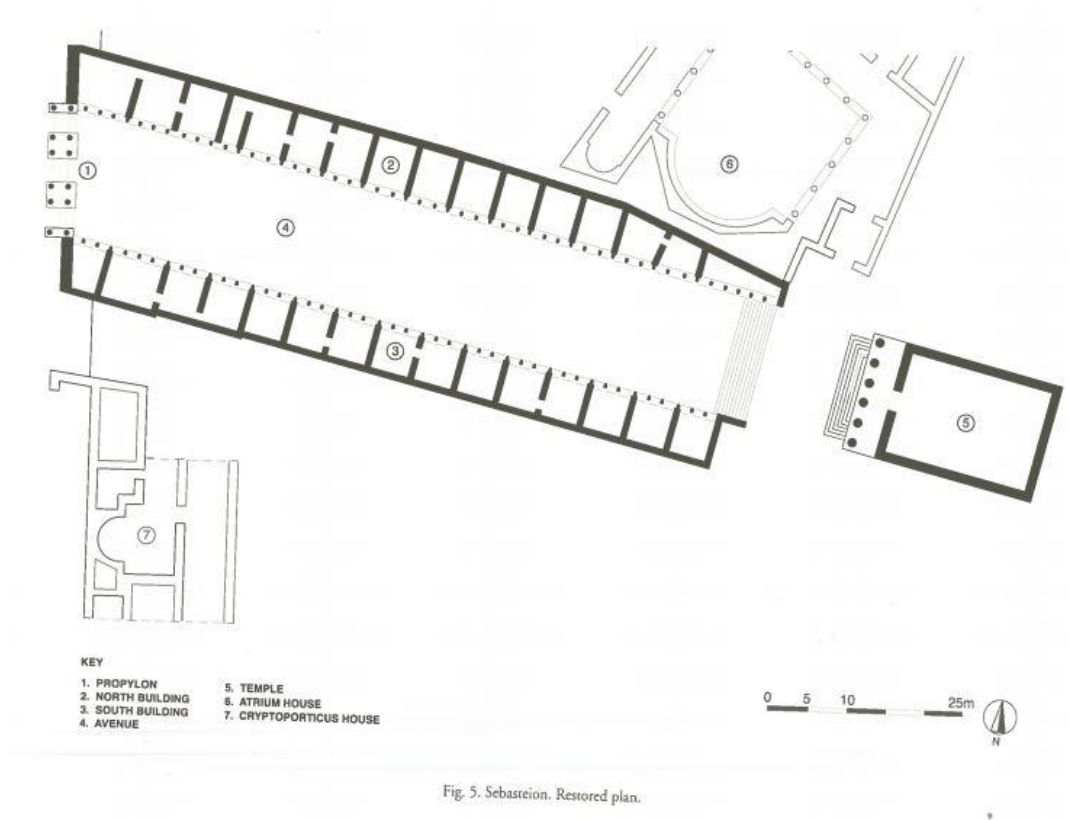


Fig. 5. Sebasteion, Restored plan.

Figure 15. Plan of the Sebasteion, Aphrodisias. Image from Smith (2013) p.10. Fig.5.

Therefore, the Sebasteion also served as a thoroughfare for traffic moving from the private housing sector to the public city centre and vice versa. Yet, even those walking in the opposite direction along this sacred thoroughfare were being guided and still travelled underneath the imposing high porticoes. Whether people were moving towards or away from the noise and smells of the city would have changed the experience of this monument. Travelling for transport was not the same as travelling for leisure; streets or obstacles needed to be navigated and the individual would have been travelling faster than those taking a casual stroll. Thus, attention would be focused on the other sensory experiences around them which helped them to navigate,⁹¹ rather than on the identity of the peoples far above them. Therefore, the impressions they give to modern spectators about the subtle differences between peoples would have needed either very close study, or a repeated experience. If people were travelling for leisure then such close study would

⁹¹ Betts (2011) pp.118-132.

have been a possibility, but less so if they were travelling with a purpose other than admiring the artwork.

Overall this was a very different sensory experience from the religious procession. Yet it still celebrated the Roman world, overseen by the divine Roman emperors. The *ethne* were linked visually and in terms of motion with the temple of the *theoi Sebastoi* at the far end of the complex. And this monument was permanent. People could walk along it for as long as and as often as they desired and if they were using the portico for leisure then the images of victorious emperors or subtle differences in dress or pose of the *ethne* could be picked up. Yet if the people were moving with purpose then these reliefs may have received just a single glance occasionally. Subtle differences in posture probably would not have been noticed. Instead, the visual uniformity, wide open space, tranquillity and gentle murmuring of others on cool, smooth marble with a subtle hint of the scent of a sacrifice for the Roman emperor would have created ideas of a uniform, peaceful empire defended by the Julio-Claudian dynasty. The *ethne* of the north building are participating in Empire and their Greek dress marks them out as civilized, as opposed to the trouser-clad, bearded, warlike barbarians who appear elsewhere in Roman artwork, and opposite them in the south building. The homogeneous nature of the reliefs, with their limited discernible attributes⁹² emphasises the idea that the Roman Empire was one unit. What the audience would have taken away from this monument was an idea of a powerful emperor being able to defeat uncivilized barbarians in the south building, but the emphasised visual homogeneity of the *ethne* reliefs in the north building who, due to their similar poses,

⁹² The Dacian relief is depicted with some sort of animal, possibly a bull; yet no clear myth or reason to attribute such an animal to this people has yet been found. The Pirousti personification is depicted as warlike with a shield and there is the hint of a cat upon the inscribed base of the Egyptians.

expressions and dress, created the idea of a unified empire brought about by the Roman emperors at the end of the processional way.⁹³

This is not an overtly militaristic monument and these personifications are not being used to show the victories of the Roman army over obscure peoples at the edges of the earth as they appear in the south building. In fact, the Dacians had yet to be conquered and the Bosporans were never part of the Roman Empire. The reliefs are not barbarian nations who have been conquered so that the empire could expand, but willing participants. While the message of the Sebasteion is very much one of the extent of Rome's Empire, this was not necessarily achieved through arms.⁹⁴ Instead, the Sebasteion fits into Rose's idea of a peaceful empire.⁹⁵ However, the addition of violent scenes of conquest and supplication on the south building creates an interesting dichotomy between 'barbarians' and non-Graeco-Roman peoples; it was not simply the case that everyone who had been conquered by Rome was depicted as submissive and uncivilized and those yet to be conquered were warlike. Furthermore, for those who used the thoroughfare for leisure and took their time to observe the names of the *ethne* depicted, it is clear that the peoples who lived along the Danube and Black Sea were not seen as conquered, in contrast to Britannia or Arabia depicted in the south building. The issue is discovering which peoples were the barbarians and which were participants, friends or those who paid homage to Rome peacefully. Yet, as will be demonstrated below, an *ethnos* could be depicted as either or both, depending on the monument.

If this monument were the only of its kind, then it would be an interesting example of ideas of what defined a barbarian in the Greek world under Roman rule. However, there are two more surviving similar monuments, one in Ephesus and one in Rome. Both

⁹³ Kemp (2016) pp.157-184.

⁹⁴ Smith (2013) p.121.

⁹⁵ Rose (2005) pp.21-67.

depicted similar allegorical personifications of peoples who made up the Roman world. Ancient texts also refer to Pompey setting up fourteen allegorical *nationes* after his conquest of the east, as well as Augustus' *portico ad nationes*, which Bert Smith believed the Sebasteion was based upon. The Hadrianeum in Rome is most similar to the Sebasteion in terms of decoration; it was built in AD 145 by Antoninus Pius⁹⁶ in the modern-day Piazza di Pietra,⁹⁷ or the ancient Campus Martius (Fig.16).



Figure 16. Hadrianeum, Piazza di Pietra, Rome. Photograph Joanna Kemp.

⁹⁶ SHA, *Hadrian*, 27; *Antoninus Pius*, 5, 8; *Verus*, 3.

⁹⁷ Claridge (1999) pp.117-119 for the history of the discovery and various excavations of the allegorical reliefs between 1534-1928.

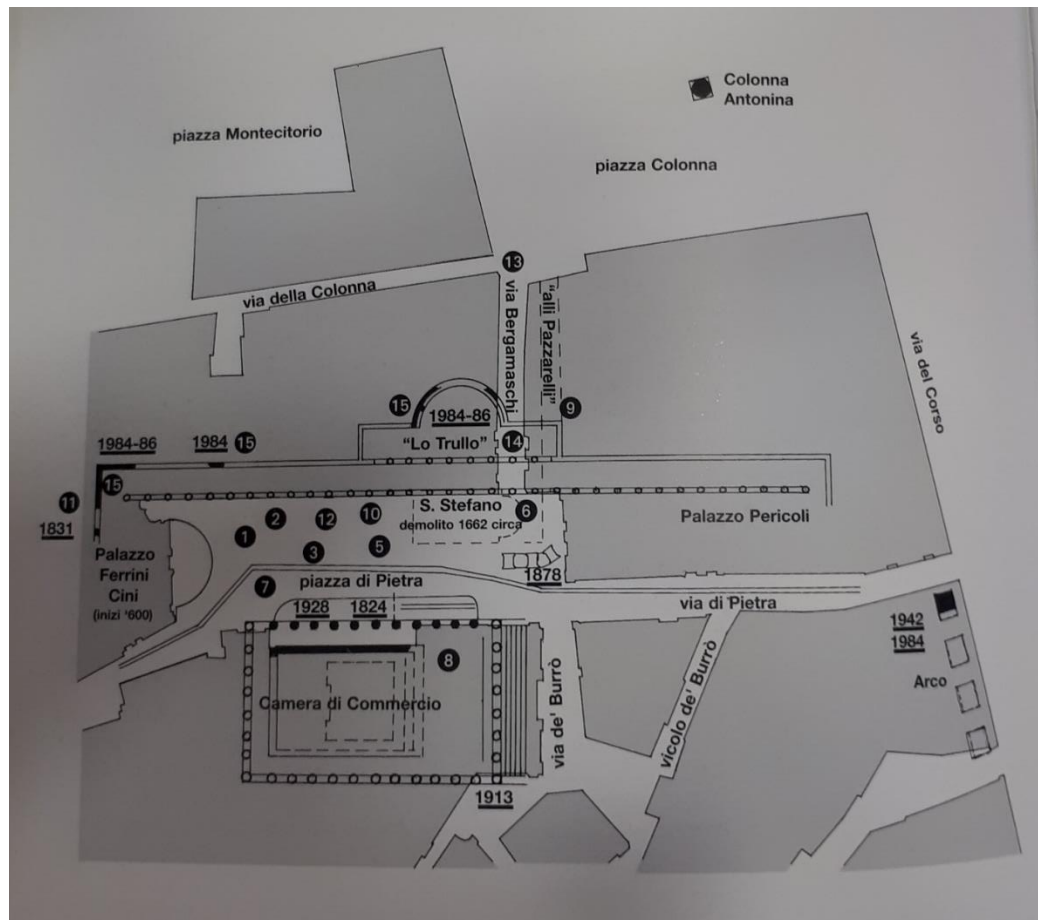


Figure 17. Plan of Piazza di Pietra, Rome, to show where reliefs and architectural fragments were found over the centuries. Image from Claridge (1999) p.118.

This was a temple to Divus Hadrianus; however, until 1904 it was believed to have been the temple of Neptune set up by Agrippa. The temple itself was either flanked or surrounded by a portico displaying personified reliefs and Roman arms. It is not possible to say for certain where the reliefs would have appeared,⁹⁸ but it is generally accepted that the attic of the portico is a logical place given that the columns are 8.8m tall and it is known that parts of the temple were 14.8m high; thus, there was room for the attic and reliefs.⁹⁹ Today, eleven columns still stand, along with part of the cella which was transformed into the Borsa Valori in 1870 and later into the Camera di Commercio, Industria, Artigianato e

⁹⁸ Claridge (1999) pp.121-125; Sapelli (1999) pp.18-23, for possible reconstructions of the temple to incorporate the reliefs, including them being placed on pedestals around the portico, along the attic of the temple, the temple's podium, and inside the temple. Toynbee (1934) pp.153-155 and Hannestad (1986) p.198 favoured the idea that the reliefs were on the interior of the temple *cella*. Ferris (2003) p.84 also placed them around the interior of the *cella* and emphasised that the reliefs would have been staring down at the cult statue of Hadrian.

⁹⁹ Claridge (1999) p.125.

Agricoltura di Rome (Fig.16). Nineteen personified female allegories of different provinces, *nationes* and cities also survive in relief form which are some two metres high, with the allegories being near life-sized. Once again, the representations are allegorical, rather than 'real' women.¹⁰⁰ A number of fragmentary reliefs have also been found in the area (Fig.17).¹⁰¹ The poses of these allegories are far more dynamic than those of the Sebasteion. There is also far more diversity in their costumes and hairstyles, and each carries some form of weapon as an attribute.

Previous work on this temple and its reliefs has focused upon identifying the personifications. In 1934 Jocelyn Toynbee published *The Hadrianic School: A Chapter in the History of Greek Art*, in which she identified the allegories based on comparisons with Hadrian's and Antoninus Pius' coinage depicting personified provinces.¹⁰² Toynbee claimed that these coins represented "the great idea for which Hadrian stood, the idea of the Empire as a vast unit, a brotherhood of fellow-citizens of the world living together on an equality in prosperity and peace, under the *aegis* of a beneficent central government, to which the well-being of each member was a vital interest."¹⁰³ Accordingly, the reliefs were a way for Antoninus Pius to honour Hadrian's provincial policy.¹⁰⁴ Marina Sapelli agreed, stating that the archaeological evidence from the Hadrianeum mirrors the peaceful climate which emphasised participation in empire under Antoninus Pius,¹⁰⁵ as seen in his coin series from AD 139.¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁰ Dillon (2006) pp.244-271.

¹⁰¹ Sapelli (1999) pp.28-81 for a catalogue of all allegories, arms and fragmentary reliefs. She offered suggestions on the identity of the provinces or *nationes* based upon attributes, clothing, weapons and hairstyle, but does not give definite identities to any.

¹⁰² Toynbee (1934) pp.144-159. Toynbee (1934) pp.146-147 also argued that Antoninus Pius' coins came from the same workshops and artists as Hadrian's.

¹⁰³ Toynbee (1934) p.3.

¹⁰⁴ Toynbee (1934) p.157.

¹⁰⁵ Aelius Aristides, *Orationes*, 26.91: ὑμᾶς δὲ ἐκ τοσούτου πάντες ἴσασιν, ἐξ ὅτου περ ἴσασιν, ἄρχοντας. ἅτ' οὖν ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὄντες ἐλεύθεροι καὶ οἷον ἐπὶ τὸ ἄρχειν εὐθύς γενόμενοι, πάντα τὰ πρὸς τοῦτο φέροντα καλῶς ἐξητύσασθε, καὶ πολιτείαν γε εὖρετε ἢν οὕτω πρόσθεν οὐδεὶς καὶ θεσμούς καὶ τάξεις ἀφυκτους ἅπασιν ἐπεστήσατε. But all have known you as rulers for as long as they have

The Hadrianeum and Sebasteion were set up over a century apart, but the similarities in their subject matter have led Smith to conclude that they were based on a common model in Rome and that both monuments were concerned with enumerating imperial victories.¹⁰⁷ Conclusions about both monuments and their meanings have been based on close visual study and the reliefs from the Hadrianeum are again today all displayed at eye height in various museums across Italy, including Il Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli (Fig. 20), Musei Capitolini (Fig. 18), and il Palazzo Massimo alle Terme (Fig. 19). They are all far removed from their original context. However, the diversity of the costumes, hairstyles, poses and attributes is certainly evident.¹⁰⁸



Figure 18. Hadrianeum reliefs, Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photograph Joanna Kemp.

known you. Being free from the beginning and being born directly to rule, you prepared everything well for this and you found a government which no one before this had yet found, and you imposed inescapable laws and order on all.

¹⁰⁶ Sapelli (1999) pp.12-13.

¹⁰⁷ Smith (2013) p.120.

¹⁰⁸ Bieńkowski (1900) p.4 previously argued that the physiognomy and costumes of such 'barbarian' allegories should be used to create a typology, rather than time, place, material or technique.



Figure 19. Hadrianeum reliefs, Museo Nazionale Romana, Rome. Photograph Joanna Kemp.



Figure 20. Hadrianeum reliefs, Museo Archeologico Nazionale, Naples. Photograph Joanna Kemp.

Such displays again make close visual analysis possible, and much of Toynbee's argument that the Hadrianeum promotes similar ideas of a peaceful, unified empire to those seen on

his coinage series¹⁰⁹ is based upon attempts to link the two based on attributes. Indeed, Toynbee described identifying the provinces and countries seen in the Hadrianeum as “the most difficult of the many problems connected with [them]”¹¹⁰ and Hannestad emphasised that the coinage holds the key to identifying the allegories from the Hadrianeum.¹¹¹ The reason this comparative approach is necessary is that unlike the Sebasteion, the *nationes* depicted on the Hadrianeum do not contain labels.¹¹² Jessica Hughes has highlighted modern preoccupations with identifying the surviving allegories based upon such close visual study of their individual hairstyles, clothing, poses and attributes, and how this seems to follow ancient epigrams dealing with allegories,¹¹³ which encourage the viewers to ask why allegories have such attributes and hairstyles. Sapelli noted the difficulties in identifying the allegories and the importance of the coin series from the same time to do so.¹¹⁴ Roger Hinks also lamented that the reason the Hadrianeum reliefs had not yet been correctly identified in 1939 was that modern scholars are too ignorant of the ancient world.¹¹⁵

However, it is in fact entirely plausible that the people using the space around the Hadrianeum were also unable to identify every allegory. John Clarke has demonstrated that not all people who viewed ancient monuments, artwork and allegories would have had access to the vast source material which modern scholars do from across the empire, and that their reactions would have depended upon individual backgrounds such as gender, age, origin, status, and profession.¹¹⁶ Therefore, it is more than possible that Hinks’ frustration at being unable to identify all of the allegories on the Hadrianeum was shared

¹⁰⁹ Toynbee (1934) pp.152-159.

¹¹⁰ Toynbee (1934) p.153.

¹¹¹ Hannestad (1986) p.199.

¹¹² *Contra* Hannestad (1986) p.198 who believed that labels would have been painted on behind the personifications. However, there is very little room for these in the field.

¹¹³ Hughes (2009) pp.8-9.

¹¹⁴ Sapelli (1999) p.16.

¹¹⁵ Hinks (1939) p.74.

¹¹⁶ J. Clarke (2003) p.10.

by ancient viewers and people who used the space. This is recorded by Ovid in his *Ars Amatoria*, when the poet encourages young men to make up the names of unrecognised allegories seen in a Roman triumph in order to impress their beloved.

*Atque aliqua ex illis cum regum nomina quaeret,
Quae loca, qui montes, quaeve ferantur aquae,
Omnia responde, nec tantum si qua rogabit;
Et quae nescieris, ut bene nota refer:
Hic est Euphrates, praecinctus harundine frontem;
Cui coma dependet caerula, Tigris erit;
Hos facito Armenios; haec est Danaeia Persis;
Urbs in Achaemeniis vallibus ista fuit;
Ille vel ille, duces; et erunt quae nomina dicas,
Si poteris, vere, si minus, apta tamen*

And if she among them asks for the names of kings,
Which places, which mountains, which waters are carried,
Respond to all, and to so much if she asks;
And what you do not know, reply as well as you remember.
This is the Euphrates, his brow crowned with reeds:
The one with green hair hanging forward will be Tigris.
Make those Armenians; this is Persia born from Danae:
That city was in the Achaemenian valleys.
Him or him, generals; and say what their names will be,
If you can, speak truthfully, if not, something fitting. – Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, 1.219-228.

Ovid shows the viewer of such personifications applying the same method modern scholars do to personifications: identity is based upon conclusions about their attributes.¹¹⁷ Greek epigrams show that people were encouraged to consider what allegories represented, and it is known that interpreting such imagery was a common social practice amongst the elite in Rome; Petronius mocked Trimalchio's art gallery in his *Satyricon*.¹¹⁸ As John Clarke argued, there was no one stock 'Roman' viewer and how people would have interpreted allegorical images depended upon their background and past experiences.¹¹⁹ Yet that does not mean that the lower classes would have been incapable of attempting some basic

¹¹⁷ Hollis (1977) p.82.

¹¹⁸ J. Clarke (2003) p.11; Petronius, *Satyricon*, 83.

¹¹⁹ J. Clarke (2003) pp.9-13.

ecphrasis. What Ovid's text illustrates in his mockery of this practice is that not every allegory in the Hadrianeum would have been easily identifiable to every viewer.

While Clarke emphasised the personal background of individual viewers and how this would affect their reading of images, how they used the space could also influence this. Firstly, as demonstrated above, if travelling for transport, with a set destination in mind it is unlikely they would have had the time to stop and examine individual allegories in detail. And if a religious procession was going on, the many sensory distractions, crowds and constant motion would have made it difficult to analyse individual allegories in detail. Instead, it would have been the group as a whole, rather than individual *nationes* which were brought to the forefront. As demonstrated above with the Sebasteion, the link between the peoples and the Roman emperor would have come to the forefront during religious processions and ceremonies, and the permanency of the temple ensured that such connections remained on days when there were no sacrifices. However, there was also the chance that people could move through the portico for leisure and take their time studying the allegories.¹²⁰ Therefore, the lack of labels may have been a deliberate choice by the creators: it encouraged the people below to consider their place in the diverse empire, which was overseen by the Roman Emperor. Hughes has also posited that to those who were unable to decipher the meanings of the attributes and identity of the allegories, there was a message of hierarchy, and that the Roman emperor was needed in order to make sense of the overwhelming peoples.¹²¹ A similar idea is seen in the literature and monuments from the reign of Claudius; Pomponius Mela celebrates that the emperor was

¹²⁰ Macaulay-Lewis (2011) pp.279-283; Martial, *Epigrammata*, 3.20.10-14; Horace, *Sermones*, 1.6.111-131.

¹²¹ Hughes (2009) p.17.

making what was previously unknown known to the people of Rome, and Claudius' triumphal arch made similar claims.¹²²

Toynbee emphasised that the personifications were linked to the emperor in order to promote a peaceful, united empire.¹²³ In that case, it is odd that the majority of the attributes of the Hadrianeum allegories are weapons. The allegory now in the Museo Nazionale, Roma, (Fig.19) has been restored to hold a pomegranate. However, while this is in keeping with Hadrian's province series, it does not fit in with the rest of the armed Hadrianeum reliefs. The relief thought to represent the Phrygians by Toynbee holds a double axe (Fig.20);¹²⁴ the Parthians were identified by Toynbee based on the presence of an arrow and quiver which supposedly aligns with Antoninus Pius' coinage.¹²⁵ The relief thought to represent the Thracians holds a curved sword (Fig.19). However, there are once again questions of whether the inhabitants of the capital moving through the space would have taken the time to identify each allegory in turn, and if so, whether they would have recognised the weapons. As demonstrated below (See 3.2), Trajan's Column depicted Dacian weaponry, and the coin series of Hadrian and Antoninus Pius contained some weaponry in their personifications. However, while Toynbee made her identifications based

¹²² Pomponius Mela, 3.49: *Britannia qualis sit qualesque progeneret, mox certiora et magis explorata dicentur. Quippe tamdiu clausam aperit ecce principum maximus, nec indomitum modo ante se verum ignotum quoque gentium victor, propriarum rerum fidem ut bello affectavit, ita triumpho declaraturus portat.* What type Britain is and what type (of peoples) it produces, soon more certain and more greatly explored information will be said. Of course, behold, the greatest of the *principes* is opening that which has been closed for a long time, a conqueror of peoples previously untamed and truly also previously unknown. He brings proof of these particular things that he achieved by war, thus will be declared by his triumph. Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 17.1; Cassius Dio, 60.19; *CIL* 6.31203: *Ti(berio) Clau(dio) Drusi f(ilio) Cae(sari) / Augu(sto) Germani]co / pontific[i] maxim(o) trib(unicia) potes(tat)e XI / co(n)s(uli) V im(p(eratori) XXII? cens(ori) patri pa]tria<e=l> / senatus po[pulusque] Ro[manus q]uod / reges Brit[annorum] XI d[iebus] paucis sine] / ulla iactur[a] devicerit et regna eorum] / gentesque b[arbaras] trans Oceanum sitas] / primus in dici[onem] populi Romani redegerit] 'To Tiberius Claudius [Caesar] Augustus [Germanicus, son of Drusus,] Pontifex [Maximus, during his eleventh tenure of Tribunicia Potestas,] Consul five times, hailed as Imperator [twenty-two times, Censor, Pater Patriae,]. The Senate and People [of Rome dedicated this because he received into surrender eleven] kings of the Britons [conquered with] no loss and he first brought the barbarian peoples [across the Ocean under the authority of the Roman people']. Reconstruction by Barrett (1991) p.12.*

¹²³ Toynbee (1934) p.157.

¹²⁴ Toynbee (1934) p.158.

¹²⁵ Toynbee (1934) p.159.

on such comparisons with the coinage, it should be noted that the majority of the attributes on these portable objects are not martial in nature. Thus, there are questions over whether ancient viewers who chose to examine the reliefs in detail would have had enough past experience of these weapon depictions to associate them with certain *ethne* or *nationes*. It has been pointed out based on the writings of Pliny, that the people of Rome knew about peoples from far away based on the goods they sent to Rome;¹²⁶ for example, Namasaus was famous for the cheese sent to Rome.¹²⁷ Therefore, would weapons have conjured up ideas about individual peoples in the minds of individuals in the Roman capital? To confuse this idea further, some of this weaponry and armour on the Hadrianeum is distinctly 'Roman.'¹²⁸ For instance, one relief holds in its left hand a *gladius hispanicus* – i.e. a short sword which had been used by Roman legionaries since the second century BC (Fig.21).

¹²⁶ Hughes (2009) p.15.

¹²⁷ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 11.240.

¹²⁸ Sapelli (1999) p.16.



Figure 21. Hadrianeum allegorical relief holding a Roman gladius. Nazionale Museo Napoli. Photograph Joanna Kemp.

However, as with the Sebasteion, with these reliefs high above ground level and if the people below moving were through the space with purpose rather than for leisure, it is unlikely that many would have differentiated between the different types of weaponry used. What should instead be considered is the overall impression of the monument. As Hughes argued convincingly, close visual study of individual reliefs does little to help understand how ancient audiences would have experienced the whole monument, and thus valuable insights into how the *oikoumene* would have been understood based on these allegories have been overlooked.¹²⁹ The group identity of the allegories is more important than individual recognisability. Gaining an overall impression of this monument and its messages is today incredibly hard, considering how separated all the reliefs are. But

¹²⁹ Hughes (2009) pp.1-17.

it seems that what would have been noticed was that every relief was armed. It is hard to tell if they were meant to be fighting the Romans or helping to defend the empire.¹³⁰ None of them are in particularly 'active' stances; their weapons are all by their sides rather than being used. Yet, while Toynbee emphasised the peaceful participation in empire, Suetonius' account of how Nero dreamed that the *simulacra gentium* of Pompey's theatre could come alive and attack him¹³¹ does demonstrate that there were potential other readings of these armed warriors in the minds of individual audience members.

When considering the effect of the overall monument, the fact that the allegories stand alongside arms becomes more important. Because the reliefs were not found *in situ*, their original order or location on the monument is hard to recreate. However, it would appear that reliefs depicting arms were set up in between each allegory (Figs.18 and 20), separate from the weapons which they hold. Given that this temple was constructed on the Campus Martius, it seems likely that ideas about the strength of the Roman army would be present in the minds of those experiencing the temple, especially during a triumphal procession. Thus, the arms reliefs on the temple have been interpreted as captured arms displayed as trophies (Fig.22a-c).¹³²

¹³⁰ Toynbee (1934) p.157 stated that the allegories held 'the arms of the various countries, as used by them in defence of civilisation.' Hannestad (1986) p.198 claimed that the allegories represented "belligerent province[s]" who were border populations protecting the rest of the Empire. Nista (1999) p.110 stated that the Roman arms in the hands of the allegories mean that the monument shows provincial communities defending the empire against barbarians.

¹³¹ Suetonius, *Nero*, 46.1.

¹³² Sapelli (1999) pp.32, 36, 56, 60, 62, 64, 80-81 described these as trophies ('Rilievo con trofeo'). Nista (1999) p.110 called them 'i trofie di armi'. Ferris (2003) p.84 claimed that the weapons panels were not meant to be displayed as 'trophies', yet still referred to them as 'trophy panels' in fig.38 and fig.39 (pp.84-85).



Figure 22a-c. Reliefs of arms from the Hadrianeum. Capitoline Museum, Rome. Photographs Joanna Kemp.

Kathryn Welch has demonstrated that such trophies would appear on the façades of Roman houses.¹³³ Given the presence of captured arms on houses throughout Rome, and the martial context of the temple's setting, it would make sense that to some audiences, these reliefs were the captured arms of Rome's enemies. Therefore, the setting of this

¹³³ Welch (2006) pp.110-112.

temple and the depictions of arms and armour ensured that there was the ever-present idea of the strength of the Roman army. Evidently ideas of the world and Roman arms were intertwined. Toynbee ignored this in her analysis of the temple as an example of peaceful participation. It has previously been argued by Toynbee and Hinks that none of the allegories are bound and so they cannot be captive or submissive.¹³⁴ However, the martial themes are hard to miss. Thus, it is entirely possible that to some who moved through the space at least, the allegories and arms served as a reminder that Roman arms could keep neighbouring peoples in check and conquer them if need be. Their warlike nature is being emphasised. The idea of the world in the first two centuries AD was being linked to the Roman emperor himself in this monument, as well as in the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias. Thus, this monument, although it displays the peoples who made up the world, is also displaying the Roman world as a military unit, protected, ordered and explained by the divine Roman emperors.

Just as at Aphrodisias, this monument was part of a cult of the emperor. The Hadrianeum in Rome set forward the idea of a distinct geographical empire,¹³⁵ but a culturally diverse one, whereby people were protected by Roman arms and the Roman emperor, who enjoyed a close relationship with the gods. While the foreign allegories are not depicted as bound and vanquished in either of the monuments, the idea of Roman victory through arms is ever present. In Aphrodisias there are panels depicting Claudius conquering the personification of Britannia, or Augustus being crowned by Nike whilst standing over a captured barbarian. In the Hadrianeum there were panels showing captured arms. Thus, even if the panels show peaceful integration into the Roman World, victory through arms was evidently still at the forefront of thought when Rome and the emperor were depicted, both in Rome and in the Greek East. Considering these

¹³⁴ Toynbee (1934) p.152; Hinks (1939) p.74.

¹³⁵ Sapelli (1999) p.16.

monuments as a whole, and from the point of view of the audiences rather than the creators, gives very different ideas about the Roman *oikoumene* and the peoples who inhabited it than close visual study of individual allegories and attributes would.

There are other examples of personifications being linked to worship of the imperial family, such as the Parthian Monument in Ephesus set up as Lucius Verus headed east, or the altar set up to Rome and Augustus at Lugdunum. Here Strabo described that there were the inscribed names and images of the sixty Gallic tribes who had come together in order to honour the emperor.

τό τε ἱερὸν τὸ ἀναδειχθὲν ὑπὸ πάντων κοινῇ τῶν Γαλατῶν Καίσαρι τῷ Σεβαστῷ πρὸ ταύτης ἱδρύεται τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ τῇ συμβολῇ τῶν ποταμῶν· ἔστι δὲ βωμὸς ἀξιόλογος ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχων τῶν ἐθνῶν ἐξήκοντα τὸν ἀριθμὸν καὶ εἰκόνες τούτων ἑκάστου μία καὶ ἄλλος μέγας.

Again, the temple which was dedicated to Caesar Augustus by all the Galatae in common is situated in front of this city at the junction of the rivers. And in it is a noteworthy altar, bearing an inscription of the names of the tribes, sixty in number; and also images from these tribes, one from each tribe, and also another large altar. – Strabo, *Geographia*, 4.3.2.

While the altar itself does not survive, it seems unlikely that a monument emphasising the willingness of the Gallic tribes to worship the emperor – even if there was unrest at the time it was set up and Roman initiative was required¹³⁶ – would cast the participants of the cult as captives in chains. Pausanias also describes personifications of the Greek ‘colonies’ at the Olympion at Athens, which was finally completed by Hadrian.

Πρὶν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν ἰέναι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου - Ἀδριανὸς ὁ Ῥωμαίων βασιλεὺς τὸν τε ναὸν ἀνέθηκε καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα θεᾶς ἄξιον, οὗ μεγέθει μὲν, ὅτι μὴ Ῥοδίοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις εἰσὶν οἱ κολοσσοί ... χαλκαῖ δὲ ἐστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν κίωνων ἅς Ἀθηναῖοι καλοῦσιν ἀποίκους πόλεις.

Before the entrance into the temple of Olympian Zeus – Hadrian, the emperor of the Romans dedicated the temple and the great statue which is worth seeing, greater than all except the colossi at Rhodes and Rome ... Bronze statues stand

¹³⁶ The altar was set up by Drusus: Livy, *Periochae*, 139; Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 54.32.1. Fishwick (1993) p.99 believed that Drusus was acting out a religious policy set out by Augustus to propagate his worship along with Roma in the western provinces.

before the columns which the Athenians call 'colonies' (cities away from home). - Pausanias, *Descriptio Graeciae*, 1.18.6.

Therefore, in the provinces in the first two centuries AD, such personifications of peoples peacefully taking part in empire, and as such being protected against uncouth barbarians by the emperor and Roman arms could seemingly be linked to imperial cult centres. However, the message of the Hadrianeum, built on the Campus Martius, near a triumphal arch, in Rome where there was an established practice of fixing captured arms to walls, would have been altered by these considerations. But the world was still being linked to the Roman emperor, who was needed to keep order and to make the unknown allegories understood to the people who moved below them. Geography and the world were very much being used to make a statement about the reach of the emperors' power, as put forward by Nicolet¹³⁷ and it is entirely possible that this style of depiction continued in a religious context down to the second century AD.

3.2: Ethnic Identifiers in Public Art

As mentioned above, a way to identify an *ethnos* or *natio* allegory on Graeco-Roman artwork was through its attributes. These can show what different audiences would associate a people with. Much attention has been paid to the identification of the allegorical reliefs of the Hadrianeum based on their attributes, with modern scholars following a similar pattern to Hellenistic epigrams which aim to identify allegories. As Jessica Hughes has pointed out, it is often assumed that difficulties faced by modern scholars in interpreting such attributes are based on a lack of knowledge about the ancient world, rather than assuming that contemporary audiences would also have struggled to identify different peoples based on vague depictions of weapons in Rome.¹³⁸ However, this section will demonstrate that ethnic identifiers on monumental artwork were not universal across the empire. Nor were they read the same way when they appeared in the same

¹³⁷ Nicolet (1991).

¹³⁸ Hughes (2009).

location; they could change over time and depended upon the audiences, as well as the creators' knowledge and contact with the people being depicted. The background of individuals could also affect how they read such artwork.¹³⁹ Indeed, Jaś Elsner's work, *Art and the Roman Viewer* emphasised throughout that different images could be interpreted in different ways depending upon the framework through which different audiences or individuals viewed the artwork.¹⁴⁰ Once an image had been released, it was very hard to control it. People would see it and adapt or reinterpret it to their own needs. Therefore, this section traces the development in Rome of the lupine standard, associated with the Dacian people on Trajan's Column, and how its meaning changed over time.

When examining ethnic identifiers associated with the Dacians to the north of the Danube, there are several different attributes associated with them. The personification on the relief at Aphrodisias (Fig.6) seems to have a bull standing to her left. However, it is unknown if the Greeks of Aphrodisias associated the Dacians with this animal in some way due to mythology or trade or other such contact. The bull is not seen with the Dacian people anywhere else in the surviving artwork. However, the Dacian *falx* as an ethnic identifier has been examined.¹⁴¹ The weapon takes the form of a curved sword and many appear on Trajan's Column in Rome, as well as his victory monument in Adamklissi in the hands of the real, rather than allegorical, people fighting against Rome. In Adamklissi these are much larger, two handed weapons, compared to the smaller version seen on the Column in Rome.¹⁴² This weapon allows the enemy to be easily distinguishable on these monuments. Reconstructions of the *falx* based on the depictions at Adamklissi show that it had the capability of slashing through Roman armour with ease, and thus must have had a

¹³⁹ J. Clarke (2003) p.10.

¹⁴⁰ Elsner (1995) pp.1-5.

¹⁴¹ Lepper and Frere (1988) p.273 argued that the presence of the *falx* on inscriptions naming the *Cohors Dacorum* along Hadrian's wall meant that at the time these inscriptions were set up, the unit "was still armed in distinctive native style." *Contra* Haynes (2013) pp.289-292.

¹⁴² Sim (2000) p.37.

huge psychological effect on Roman soldiers, and ideas about the Dacian people who used them.¹⁴³ The *falx* appeared on the coinage of Trajan and Hadrian with personifications of Dacia in Rome (Fig.23).



Figure 23. RIC 849f. HADRIAN AE Sestertius. HADRIANVS AVG COS III P P, laureate and draped bust right / S-C DACIA, Dacia seated left on rocks, holding vexillum in right and curved sword in left. AD 134 – 138. Image from <http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/hadrian/>

Outside these contexts, two other representations are known of, on forts along Hadrian's Wall where an auxiliary unit of "Dacians" was stationed in the third century AD. The first of these inscriptions record the first Aelian cohort of Dacians building something, probably a votive, under Marcus Claudius Menander (Fig.24).¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³ Sim (2000) pp.40-41.

¹⁴⁴ RIB 1914: *sub Modio lu-/lio leg(ato) Aug(usti) pr(o)/pr(aetore) coh(ors) I Ael(ia) D(a)c(or)um/cui praeest M(arcus)/Cl(audius) Menander/trib(unus).*



Figure 24. *RIB*, 1914. Inscription set up along Hadrian's Wall in the third century AD depicting a *falx* and palm leaf. Image from <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/1914>.

The second is a votive inscription also from the 3rd century AD (Fig.25).¹⁴⁵

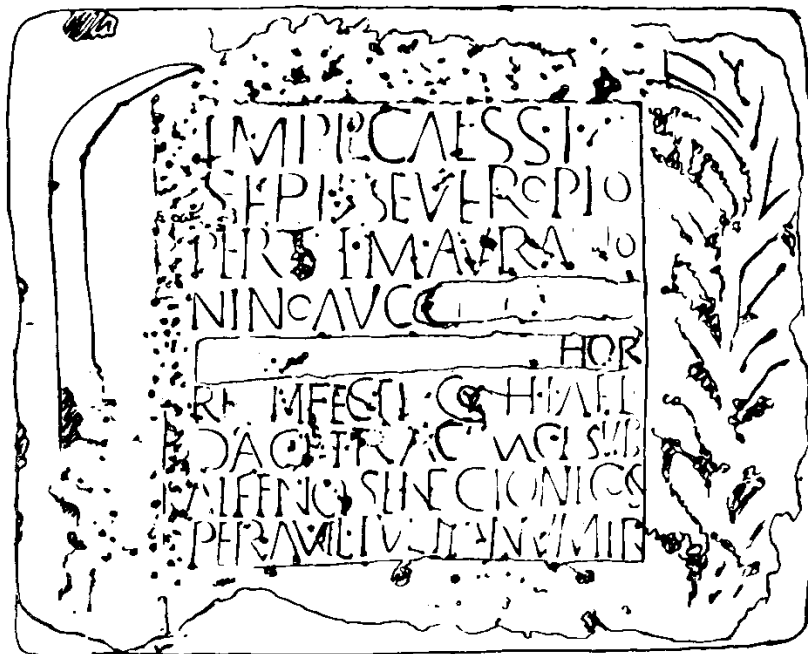


Figure 25. *RIB* 1909. Inscription set up along Hadrian's Wall depicting a falx and palm leaf. Image from <https://romaninscriptionsofbritain.org/inscriptions/1909>.

¹⁴⁵ *RIB*, 1909: *Imp(eratoribus) Caes(aribus) L(ucio) | Sept(imio) Severo Pio | Pert(inaci) et M(arco) Aur(elio) A(nt)onino Aug(ustis) // et P(ublio) Sep(timio) | Getae nob(ilissimo) Caes(ari) // hor|reum fecer(unt) coh(ortes) | Ael(ia) | Dac(or)um et I T(h)racum c(ivium) R(omanorum) sub | Alfeno Senecione co(n)s(ulari) | per Aurel(ium) Iulianum tr(ibunum).*

Both depict a *falx* with a palm leaf and mention the Dacians in the inscriptions. However, Ian Haynes has used archaeological evidence from graves to argue that the Dacian units on the wall would not actually have fought with the *falces*, as none have been recovered there.¹⁴⁶ Furthermore, by the third century AD recruitment patterns saw individuals from different parts of the Empire being recruited into cohorts with regional names (See Chapter 4), so it is unknown how much of the cohort would actually have been from Dacia.¹⁴⁷ Therefore, these *falces* were not necessarily due to the presence of Dacians on the wall, but could have been more of a ‘mascot’ owing to the cohorts’ names. However, these stones demonstrate that the idea that the *falces* and Dacians were associated spread to the very edges of the Roman Empire and also endured in some form until at least the third century.

While Haynes raises questions about using literary or artistic evidence as proof for how the Roman army used its ethnic units,¹⁴⁸ the above examples do show that weapons could be ‘ethnic’ markers in artwork. Another military weapon which could have been used as an ethnic attribute was the Dacian lupine standard, normally referred to in scholarship as a *draco*. This was a military standard with a long, cloth body and the head of a wolf, which was held up on a pole. However, often in modern scholarship discussions of this standard have been conflated with the later serpentine *draco* which was used by the Roman cavalry (see below) (Figs.26-27).

¹⁴⁶ Haynes (2013) pp.289-292.

¹⁴⁷ Haynes (2013) pp.123-129 on recruitment patterns; pp.135-142 argued against ideas of ethnic exceptionalism and distinct units within the Roman army.

¹⁴⁸ See also Bishop and Coulston (1993) pp.19-20; Haynes (2013) pp.285-298.



Figure 26. Dacian lupine standard depicted on Trajan's Column, Rome. The canine ears and snout are obvious. It is attached to a pole below the wolf's jaw and clothes which would blow in the wind can be seen along its body. Photograph Joanna Kemp.

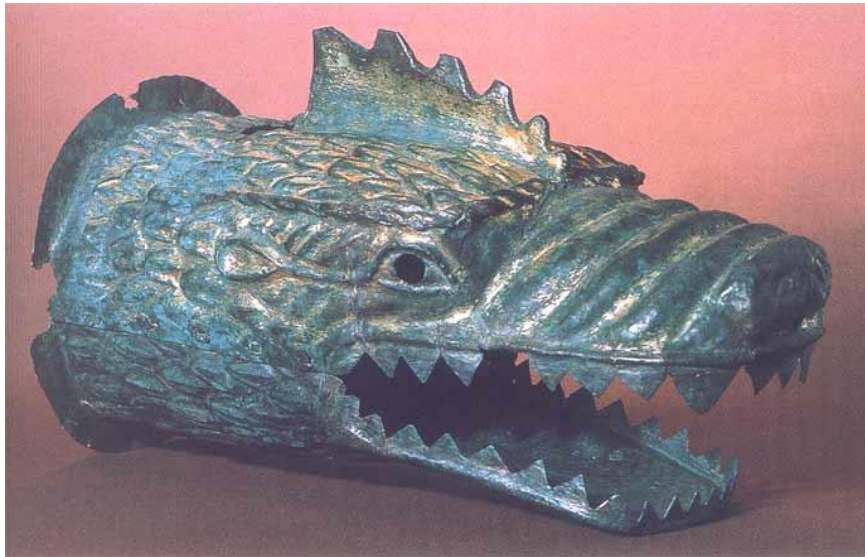


Figure 27. Serpent-headed draco, Niederbieber, Germany. It is scaled without canine ears and has a prominent fin on the top of its head. Image from <http://www.lectio.org.uk/articles/draco1.jpg>.

Depictions of the lupine standard first appear in Rome on Trajan's Column in the hands of the enemy and appear on subsequent public artworks including the Hadrianeum and Marcus Aurelius' Column. In the second century, Arrian described similar standards

with serpent heads, called *dracones* (Fig.27), which were used by Roman cavalry, after they supposedly adopted them from the Sarmatians in the Danubian-Pontic region.¹⁴⁹ Arrian's attributing of the *dracones'* origin to the Scythians or Sarmatians in the mid second century AD has led scholars such as Ann Hyland to claim that any depiction of the Dacian lupine *draco* on Trajan's Column must in fact be a representation of the Sarmation lazyges within the Roman army or their likewise Sarmatian Rhoxolani enemies who fought on the side of the Dacians.¹⁵⁰ The lupine and serpent headed *dracones* have often been conflated in modern scholarship, and the Dacian standard called a *draco* with lupine features, owing to the obvious similarity (Figs.26-27).¹⁵¹ Debates about the lupine standard have looked to the later Roman use of the *draco* as a cavalry standard¹⁵² and focused on the lupine standard as a pre-runner of this.¹⁵³ Jon Coulston has previously argued that the *draco* was a continuation and adaptation of the lupine standard.¹⁵⁴

However, the above approach focuses on the end result and pays too little attention to how the lupine standard would have been understood by audiences who did not have contact with the Roman military in the early second century AD, before depictions of the *draco* cavalry standard became common. Indeed, while Trajan's Column was set up

¹⁴⁹ Arrian, *Ars Tactica*, 35.2-4.

¹⁵⁰ Hyland (1993) p.102. *Contra* Coulston (2017) p.102.

¹⁵¹ Bishop and Coulston (1993) p.22; Coulston (1991) pp.101-111. Junkelmann (1991) p.141 described how the *draco* can be seen on Trajan's Column and the Arches of Constantine and Galerius, making no distinction between the lupine and serpentine versions.

¹⁵² Speidel (1985) pp.283-287 argued for the existence also of a *magister draconii* within the Roman army. Later literary sources and depictions give the serpent-headed *dracones* the purpose of differentiating Roman cavalry units. They have been referred to as the most popular standard of the Roman army from the second century until AD 300 by Junkelmann (1991) p.137. They are mentioned in the *Historia Augusta* to describe how cavalry troops would parade with them under Gallienus (*SHA Gallieni Duo*, 8.6) and Vegetius often spoke of them when describing Roman military standards (Vegetius, *De Re Militari*, 1.20.7, 2.7.5). Coulston (1991) p.101 stated that *draconii* who carried the *draco* in the Roman army are recorded in inscriptions from the Tetrarchic period onwards e.g. *ILCV* 522 in northern Italy, *CIL* 6, 32968 in Italy and *BE* 627 from Sardinia honours an individual from his service as *draconarius* in the *numerus draconariorum Sardorum*. These serpentine standards can also be seen in the hands of Roman soldiers in the privately made Ludovisi Sarcophagus from AD 250-260, as well as on the arch of Constantine and the Arch of Galerius in Thessalonice.

¹⁵³ Although, Keichle (1964) p.122 highlighted the similarity in appearance but highly different uses of the two standards.

¹⁵⁴ Bishop and Coulston (1993) p.205. Coulston (1991) pp. 101-111.

in the early second century AD, no evidence for depictions of serpentine *dracones* in Rome has been found before AD 250-260, when one appeared in the hands of a Roman cavalryman on the Ludovisi Sarcophagus. Rather than examining these standards as military equipment and how these show that Sarmatians influenced Roman cavalry practices, this section will now examine the Dacian *draco* (hereafter referred to as the 'lupine standard' to avoid confusion) as a separate entity and will consider this image from the point of view of the inhabitants of Rome who had considerably less contact with the Dacians or Sarmatian peoples with whom the Roman army was engaged throughout the second century AD.¹⁵⁵ It examines how this symbol originally functioned as an ethnic identifier in Rome, and how the messages of Dacian conquest could be transformed based on the setting of this image and the experiences of its audience.

Roughly twenty lupine standards appear on Trajan's Column, carried by the Dacian warriors,¹⁵⁶ whom the artist has made clearly distinct from the Roman soldiers by dressing them in cloaks, trousers and often conical caps (Figs.28-32).

¹⁵⁵ Coulston (2017) p.101 now admits that there is a difference between the *draco* and the lupine standards.

¹⁵⁶ Coulston (1991) p.102.



Figure 28. Trajan's Column Scene 31. Image from http://www.trajans-column.org/?page_id=107#PhotoSwipe1539361340143.



Figure 29. Trajan's Column Scene 66. Image from http://www.trajans-column.org/?page_id=107#PhotoSwipe1540326121580.

In the above two images (Fig.28-29), the lupine standard is in a rather aggressive pose. It is blowing in the wind and helps create a sense of movement on the part of the Dacians. Scene 31 shows the Dacian army struggling to cross a body of water, but this motion also

draws attention to the next scene, whereby the Dacians are besieging a Roman army camp. Scene 66 then shows a battle between the Romans and the Dacians, so once again, the standard blowing in the wind helps give a sense of motion to the fight. Similar dynamic stances appear in Scene 24 where the Dacians hold two lupine standards as they battle the Roman army which is aided by Jupiter.



Figure 30. Trajan's Column Scene 25. Image from http://www.trajans-column.org/wp-content/flagallery/scenes22-25/img_2046-25-web.jpg.

The lupine standard is also seen on the inside of towns being besieged by the Romans on scene 25 (Fig.30) and 59. In Scene 25 it is seen to be blowing in the wind, once again in a seemingly active stance. However, it is out of proportion with the buildings inside the Dacian town. In this case, it seems to have been included to mark the town as a Dacian one. The direction it faces also matches the movement of the Dacian soldiers in the foreground of the scene, despite the fact that they look back towards the destruction which Trajan is causing. Thus, once again, the motion created by this standard pushes the narrative forward to the scene which features Trajan's *ad locutio*.

The lupines are shown being held by the Dacian warriors as they surrender to Trajan in Scene 75, and then again on the piles of enemy arms which made up the trophies (Figs.31-32). Yet, in these instances, the lupine standards are not blowing in the wind, but hanging limp. Their stance is no longer active, especially in Scene 75. Thus, as well as being used to identify the Dacian army or stronghold, the creator has also used motion and wind to show the status of the Dacians: actively resisting Rome when the standards blow dynamically in the wind but defeated when they hang down at the conclusion of the first campaign.



Figure 31. Trajan's Column Scene 75. Image from http://www.trajans-column.org/?page_id=107#PhotoSwipe1540326359185.

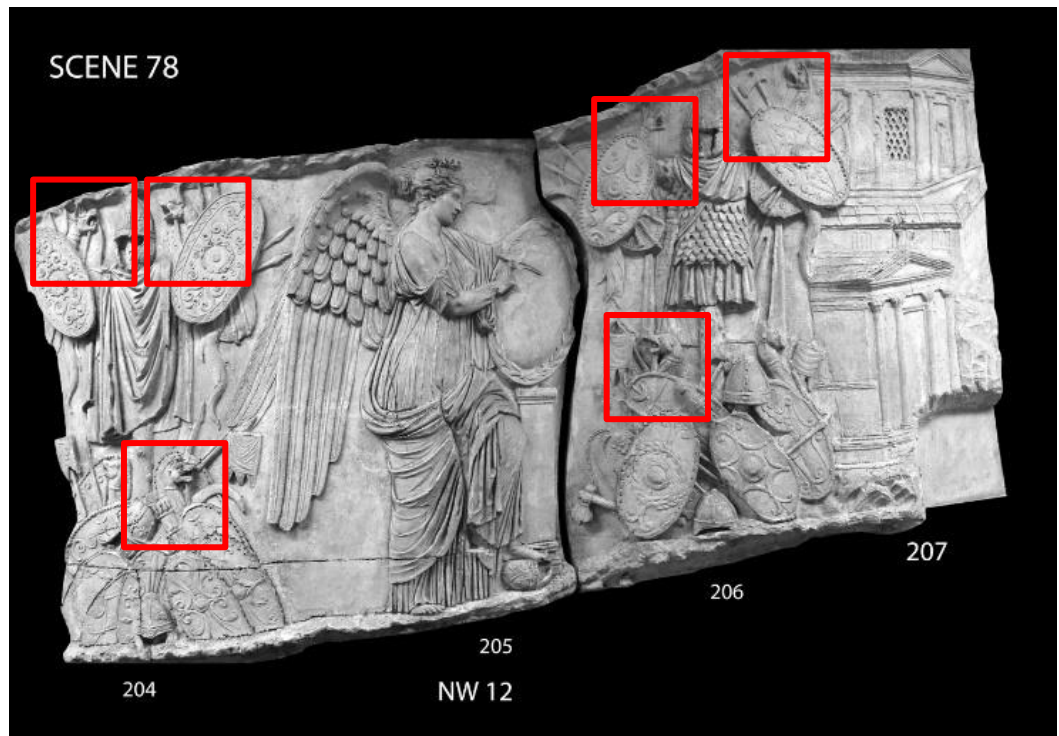


Figure 32. Trajan's Column Scene 78. Image from http://www.trajans-column.org/wp-content/flagallery/scenes22-25/img_2046-25-web.jpg.

Thus, on Trajan's Column these standards are being used by the Dacians and help mark their defeat. There is no hint of the Roman soldiers using anything resembling the lupine standards; they are purely associated with the defeated people to the north of the Danube.

However, there are the obvious issues of whether or not people would have been able to view this monument. Powerful cameras today mean that viewers are better equipped to see the images, but in the early twentieth century, a powerful telescope had to be used.¹⁵⁷ The spiral nature of the frieze has long been seen as evidence of a narrative structure to the images. Amanda Claridge argued that it was decorated under the emperor Hadrian,¹⁵⁸ whereas Penelope Davies emphasised that the circular frieze makes more sense when the column is considered as a funerary monument, claiming that it evoked the protective circular pattern seen in Augustus' mausoleum.¹⁵⁹ However, this spiral frieze would have made it incredibly hard for viewers to see the standards, or in fact many of the

¹⁵⁷ Lepper and Frere (1998) p.3.

¹⁵⁸ Claridge (1993) pp.5-22; *contra* Lepper and Frere (1998) pp.23-26.

¹⁵⁹ Davies (1997) pp.41-65.

scenes in great detail. A vertical way of reading the Column has also been emphasised.¹⁶⁰ Furthermore, this column would have been enclosed in a small courtyard by Trajan's libraries¹⁶¹ and so it seems unlikely that close study would have been possible for all who experienced the column. As Andrew Fear recently pointed out, the clearest part of the narrative to those on the ground was in fact the crossing of the Danube, and the main 'story' does not begin until six metres up the column.¹⁶² Regardless of whether or not there were viewing platforms on libraries surrounding the column,¹⁶³ the majority of the people who used the forum and libraries would not have been able to see these images clearly, despite the use of repeated images, colour or metallic objects which reflected light. Therefore, no definite conclusions about the use of these standards can be drawn based on the above images. Yet, the lupine standard does also appear around the base of the column.¹⁶⁴ This would have been at the eye height of the people who entered the courtyard, making it one of the few things which could be seen clearly.

¹⁶⁰ Coulston (1989) p.31.

¹⁶¹ J. Clarke (2003) p.32; Packer (1997) V.1., pp.120-126.

¹⁶² Fear (2015) pp.241-243.

¹⁶³ Packer (2003) pp.129-132.

¹⁶⁴ Coulston (2017) p.106, Tab.1 for the makeup of the pedestal decoration.



Figure 33. Base of Trajan's Column depicting captured arms from the Dacian conquest. The lupine standards can be seen framing the rest of the weapons. They appear in similar locations on three of the four sides, as well as in amongst the arms. Photograph Joanna Kemp.

In this location, the standards are part of the pile of enemy arms used as a trophy on the battlefield.¹⁶⁵ It has been highlighted by Michael Bishop and Jon Coulston that this part of the column accurately represents the *falces*, standards, helmets, archery equipment and scabbards, even if the helmets and shields were devised by the artists who were largely unfamiliar with their subject matter.¹⁶⁶ The standards frame the whole base and are in the same location on three of the four sides. They are far more prominent than the

¹⁶⁵ Hölscher (2006) pp.29-34 on the development of victory trophies.

¹⁶⁶ Bishop and Coulston (1993) p.22. Coulston (1989) p.34 argued that the accuracy is because the artists would have experienced the captive arms in the form of Trajan's Dacian triumph, in comparison to the depictions of the *symmachiarii* on the column who are merely bare-chested, and the Sarmatian cavalry are armoured, because the artists in Rome had little to no contact with the army.

carnyx trumpet which can be seen with the shields along the bottom. Similarly, there are debates about whether the *carnyx* related to specific campaigns or was a generic barbarian symbol by this point.¹⁶⁷ Thus, the sculptor who made this base made these items visually prominent, but their setting of captured arms leaves no doubt as to what the audience were meant to think about the Dacians who used them: they were the conquered enemy of Rome.¹⁶⁸

The next time the wolf standard is seen in surviving Roman artwork is on the Hadrianeum reliefs. As seen above (Chapter 3.1), the Hadrianeum in Rome was built in AD 145 by Antoninus Pius¹⁶⁹ in the modern Piazza di Pietra. This was a temple to Divus Hadrianus and was surrounded by a portico displaying personifications of the peoples of provinces of the world in relief, along with Roman arms. Many of the allegories on this monument hold weaponry, some of which is 'foreign' and some of which is more traditional Roman armour. It has previously been argued that these foreign peoples are not conquered or bound which would suggest that the personifications are participating in Empire and paying homage to the divine Hadrian. However, they do appear alongside images of captured arms, bringing into question whether or not these peoples, when considered as a whole group, were truly participating peacefully in Empire. It is these trophies with defeated arms in which the lupine standard appears (Figs.34-35). In this instance, the lupine snout and ears are seemingly more pronounced than on Trajan's Column. However, the cloths blowing in the wind and pole attached to below the jaw still mark this out as the same standard, unlike the later serpentine one which has scales and lacks ears.

¹⁶⁷ Caló Levi (1952) pp.27-34 argued that it was a generic symbol used for all 'barbarians' by the end of the first century AD. *contra* Hunter (2001) pp.90-94.

¹⁶⁸ Coulston (2017) p.102 has emphasised that no 'Germanic' or 'Sarmatian' arms can be seen on the pedestal in order to emphasise that this was a Roman victory over the Dacian people, unlike at Adamklissi where many ethnic markers can be seen.

¹⁶⁹ *SHA, Hadrian, 27; Antoninus Pius, 5, 8; Verus, 3.*



Figure 34. Lupine standard from the Hadrianeum reliefs, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Photograph Joanna Kemp.



Figure 35. Personifications and captured arms from the Hadrianeum reliefs, Museo Archeologico Nazionale di Napoli. Photograph Joanna Kemp.

The lupine ears, snout and teeth, long tail and cloth attached to it can clearly be seen and thus identified with the figures seen on Trajan's Column. This image also has the standard attached to a pole, further implying that it was intended to have been used in the same way as depicted on the Column. Therefore, if people chose to view the Hadrianeum reliefs,

there is a chance they would have understood the lupine standard as belonging to the Dacian people.

However, once again such conclusions are based upon very close visual study of the individual Hadrianeum relief in isolation, rather than as a complete monument. While it is of course a possibility that some audience members would view each individual image if they were using the portico for leisure and carefully examining each allegory and trophy, as discussed above in relation to Aphrodisias (See 3.1), others who experienced the space would have considered the monument as a whole. The lupine standard is placed among the other trophies. To some, who studied the monument closely and who were aware of Trajan's Column, it could have signalled that the Dacian people were still defeated, enemies of Rome. To others, it could simply have been a symbol of a generic defeated barbarian, rather than being associated with the Dacians. The reading of the standard depended upon audience engagement with both this and other monuments, as well as their own knowledge and background.

Indeed, the placement of the lupine standard on the Column of Marcus Aurelius would seem to support this idea of the lupine standard being seen by some in Rome as a generic barbarian symbol. This monument was set up on the Campus Martius sometime after Marcus Aurelius' death in AD 180. It was clearly modelled upon Trajan's Column owing to the use of the spiral frieze depicting the wars of against the Marcomanni and Quadi along the north of the Rhine/Danube. In this setting, the lupine standard appears to the left of the Victory, as part of a trophy (fig.36).

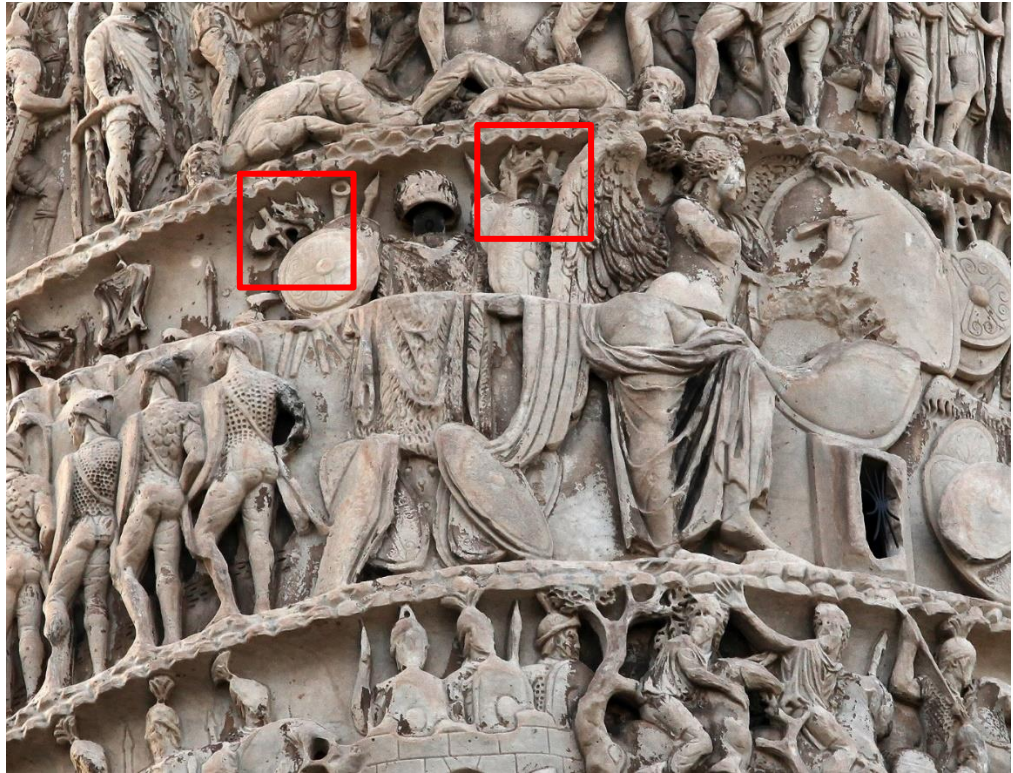


Figure 36. Victory Scene from the Column of Marcus Aurelius, Rome. The lupine standards can be seen in the trophy to the left of the Victory. Image from https://www.flickr.com/photos/roger_ulrich/22625930638/in/photostream/.

Thus, if the lupine standard was designed purely as a symbol of the Dacian people, as it seems to have been under Trajan, and if this representation was readily accepted by all who encountered it, it is odd that it should appear on this column which celebrates the annihilation of a people other than the Dacians. Yet, the standard is not at all easy to see on this column and does not appear anywhere else on the frieze. It is probable that this was placed here as a result of the artist copying designs from Trajan's Column,¹⁷⁰ especially as it appears in the same position as on the trophy in Scene 78 on Trajan's Column (Fig.31). This could indicate that to the people who carved the column at least, this was no longer a symbol of the Dacians' defeat, as so proudly boasted by Trajan's Forum some eight decades previous, but rather a generic symbol of barbarians, illustrating how once an image has been released, those who created it have little control over its meaning, interpretation or adaptation.

¹⁷⁰ Beckmann (2011) pp.84-109; Dillon (2006) p.245.

Thus, throughout the early-mid second century AD, the lupine standard was used in Rome to represent the Dacian people, but also as a symbol of barbarian defeat and Rome's victories. It is hard to say whether people who experienced the Hadrianeum would have associated the trophy panels with the Dacians, but if they did, it would have been because of the associations established by Trajan's Forum. Yet, it should be noted that the people who lived in the capital city had little contact with the Roman army,¹⁷¹ and while there is some evidence of individuals who identified as Dacian living in Rome, they are few and far between (see Chapter 4).¹⁷² Thus, it seems plausible that this official artwork was one of the main filters through which the diverse inhabitants of Rome could experience these people. Trajan's Forum had cast them as perpetually defeated,¹⁷³ and this lupine image was linked with this idea in the artwork that was set up in the Forum, where captive Dacians, rather than allegorical personifications, were proudly displayed.

However, as mentioned above, it is true that at the same time that these lupine standards were appearing, different ideas seem to have been created about the very similar *draco* standards by the Roman army. Therefore, just like modern scholars have done, there is some evidence for confusion between the *dracones* and lupine standards in Rome, far away from the Danubian region where both would have been seen. Before the consecration of the Hadrianeum, Arrian wrote his *Ars Tactica*. This work has been dated to sometime between AD 136 and AD 138.¹⁷⁴ While previous works written under the Roman emperors treated war as a philosophical exercise,¹⁷⁵ Arrian instead split his work in two; he recognised that it was not enough to use just ancient tactics, so first described Macedonian battle tactics, then complemented this with the second half, describing Roman cavalry

¹⁷¹ Bakogianni (2015) p.6.

¹⁷² Noy (2000) p.218; *CIL* 6, 2605.

¹⁷³ Edwards (2003) pp.65-70.

¹⁷⁴ Davies (1968) pp.73-100 argued for a date of AD 136 for the cavalry part of the work. Stadter (1978) p.118 argued for a date of AD 136/7 based on the mention of Hadrian's twentieth regnal year at *Ars Tactica*, 44.3.

¹⁷⁵ Stadter (1978) p.118.

tactics.¹⁷⁶ Arrian's interest in the practical as well as the literary can be observed in his publication of his other work, *Ἑκταξίς κατὰ Ἀλανῶν*, and throughout his *Periplus* (Chapter 2). In his *Ars Tactica*, which details the Graeco-Macedonian battle tactics combined with more contemporary Roman cavalry exercises, he described the *dracones* standards:

Σημεῖτοις δὲ διακεκριμένοις ἐρελαύνουσιν, οὐ τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς Σκυθικοῖς, τοῦ ποικιλωτέραν τε καὶ ἄμα φοβερωτέραν γίνεσθαι τὴν ἐπέλασιν. Τὰ Σκυθικάδὲ σημεῖα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κοντῶν ἐν μήκει συμμέτρῳ δράκοντες ἀπαιωρούμενοι. Ποιοῦνται δὲ ξυρραπτοὶ ἐκ ῥακῶν βεβαμμένων, τάς τε κεφαλὰς καὶ τὸ σῶμα τᾶν ἔσσε ἐπὶ τὰς οὐράς εἰκασμένοι ὄφουσιν, ὡς φοβερώτατα οἷόν τε εἰκασθῆναι. Καὶ τὰ σοφίσματα ταῦτα. ἀτρεμούντων μὲν τῶν ἵππων οὐδὲν πλέον ἢ ῥάκη ἂν ἴδοις πεποικιλμένα ἐς τὸ κάτω ἀποκρεμάμενα, ἐλαυομένων δὲ ἐμπνεόμενα ἐξογκοῦται, ὥστε ὡς μάλιστα τοῖς θηρίοις ἐκεοικέναι, καὶ τι καὶ ἐπισυριζειν πρὸς τὴν ἄγαν κίνησιν ὑπὸ τῇ πνοῇ βιαίῃ διερχομένη.

They charge with a standard of many colours for separating each other, not only Roman, but also Scythian, to make the charge become more terrifying. The Scythian standards are *dracones* hanging on spears in even length. They are made, out of dyed rags sewn together, both the heads and the body and the tails are represented by a serpent, so to create a most fearful image. And these methods: When the horses are still, nothing flies. One sees the rags sewn with many colours hanging down. When the horses are driven forwards, they swell up, hissing, seemingly turned into a wild beast, when blown into by the wind with great force... - Arrian, *Ars Tacitica*, 35.2-4.

Franz Kiechle has argued that this work is an accurate account of the reforms Hadrian made to the cavalry¹⁷⁷ and Stadter emphasised that Arrian was not simply reciting previous military treatises which describe Hellenistic practices, but ensuring that his audience could understand both the past practices and the Roman differentiations from these.¹⁷⁸ From this description, it is clear that Arrian was describing something very similar to the standards depicted on Trajan's Column and the Hadrianeum, with the long serpentine tails, decorated with rags. The only difference is, Arrian's standards have serpentine heads, instead of wolf heads. Arrian claims that it was adopted by the Roman army from the Scythians, an archaic

¹⁷⁶ Stadter (1978) p.119.

¹⁷⁷ Kiechle (1964) pp.128-129. However, Wheeler (1978) pp.357-359 argued that the above description was the result of Arrian watching a military parade, based on the bright colours and bronze helmets worn by the Roman soldiers.

¹⁷⁸ Stadter (1978) pp.121-128.

term he uses throughout his different works to refer to the Sarmatian peoples.¹⁷⁹ However, he also comments that this standard was also used *τοῖς Ῥωμαϊκοῖς* (by the Romans). It is known that such standards were widely used in the later Roman cavalry.¹⁸⁰ In previous scholarship, the two types of standard have been intertwined, with Jon Coulston arguing that the lupine and *draco* standards slowly evolved into Roman cavalry standards, while Ann Hyland instead believed the lupine standard was in fact a *draco* which indicated the presence of Sarmatians whenever it appeared on Trajan's Column.¹⁸¹

While Coulston has demonstrated how contact between the Roman army and Danubian people would logically have led to the adoption of practices or equipment,¹⁸² it should be noted that Arrian's text describes a different type of standard with a different use than the one being depicted in Rome at that time. The lupine one which appeared on Hadrianeum was being used as a marker of the barbarian other and defeat, whilst Arrian's serpent *draco* was a piece of Roman military equipment. This was written at roughly the same time as the construction of the Hadrianeum and so demonstrates that different ideas about foreign peoples could develop in different locations, based on levels of contact. Despite there being some idea in Rome of the Danubian peoples using standards which blow in the wind with brightly coloured rags, the image was presented in Rome as a way to show these people as conquered. However, Arrian, a military commander and provincial governor who was concerned with the day to day effectiveness of the Roman army, was able to write about how Roman soldiers and cavalry could use a 'barbarian' standard to their own advantage. Because this standard was adopted by the Roman army in later times, it is generally thought of as a Roman standard which had its origins in the Dacian wars; the possibility that different interpretations of this standard could exist at the same time are

¹⁷⁹ Coulston (1991) p.106. Kiechle (1964) pp.120-122 believed that they were Thracian in origin; Wheeler (1978) p.359 stated simply that they were 'barbarian'.

¹⁸⁰ Coulston (1991) pp.105-110; Junkelmann (1991) pp.136-141.

¹⁸¹ Hyland (1993) pp.83, 102. Coulston (2017) p.101.

¹⁸² Coulston (1991) pp.101-114.

overlooked. While the two are usually conflated in discussions of the *draco* as a Roman cavalry standard, to discuss the lupine standard only as a precursor for this use ignores how its audience would have understood it in the early second century AD, before the adoption of serpentine *draco* standards by the Roman army, which do not appear in surviving artwork until AD 250-260. In previous scholarship, the lupine standard has been discussed as if it were a forerunner of the *draco* standard. Yet, it was not the case that as soon as Arrian's work on military tactics along the Black Sea was published, the lupine standard disappeared, nor indeed was transferred to the Roman army in monumental artwork.

3.3: Conclusions

Previous research into monumental allegories and attributes and how these could present the peoples of the *oikoumene* has always focused upon the intended meaning, rather than the meanings which audiences could take away from such monuments. The role of viewers, and their experience of such monuments needs to be placed at the centre of such investigations.¹⁸³ How people responded to allegorical personifications did not necessarily depend upon close visual study, but the overall impression of the monument as a whole. How people experienced such monuments is also important: many such allegories are linked to emperor worship and so religious processions would have created a very different experience to when people would use the porticoes in Rome or Aphrodisias for leisure. The fact that the Hadrianeum in Rome is placed in the Campus Martius also brings the role of the Roman army and the captured arms to the forefront, especially during a triumphal procession, in a way which was previously ignored by Toynbee or Hinks' examination of the monument. It was clearly not the case that all peoples outside Roman control, or who had recently been captured, were instantly portrayed as warlike or submissive. There was no one clear presentation of any foreign nation, and attributes

¹⁸³ Elsner (1995).

differed on each monument. The case of the Dacian lupine standard shows that although it was released in artwork created by the Roman state as a way to show Trajan's victories over the Dacians, it was then transformed into a symbol of generic barbarian defeat, as seen by its inclusion in the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which had little to do with the Dacian population.

The previous two chapters have therefore shown that there was no one clear way in which literature or artwork depicted the world in Roman times, nor the peoples who lived in the Danubian-Pontic regions. This was a constantly evolving system and one which very much depended upon the context and location of the monument or writing, the genre of the literature, and the interests of the author. Yet, the audiences' impressions should also be considered. These were entirely subjective and would differ from individual to individual but could be altered by the audience's previous engagement with and knowledge of the peoples described, and how individuals would interact with the monuments depicting the foreign people. These factors were out of the control of the author or creator of an image.

Chapter 4: Everyday Representations of Dacians in the Roman Army and Civilian Life

The previous two chapters have focused upon how people could learn about the physical layout of the world and the people who inhabited it via the media of ‘geographic’ literature and artwork. As demonstrated, how the people in the Danubian-Pontic regions were represented in art and literature depended upon previous connotations of the region, and the aims of the author, and often featured idealised allegories designed to put forward a certain political message. Yet, this message could be altered based on the background and experiences of individual viewers. However, this was not the only way in which the people of the Roman world could learn about the peoples on the edges, or indeed, present knowledge about them. This chapter continues the exploration of how different media, audiences and creators could affect how people were portrayed. It examines objects and texts other than the monumental public spaces or religious venues, in the form of military diplomas, personal tombstones, and dedications.¹ Ellen Swift stated that individuals would use everyday objects to work out their place in society in comparison to others.² Richard Talbert has also recently emphasised the need to explore more commonplace objects in order to understand ancient people’s worldview.³ His study focuses upon sixteen portable sundials with geographical locations and their latitude inscribed on them.⁴ Talbert demonstrated that provinces, cities and regions could be interchangeable on these objects,

¹ Of course, tombstones and dedications can also be monumental; Woolf (1996) pp.30-34.

² Swift (2017) p.234.

³ Talbert (2017) pp.3-4.

⁴ A number of the sixteen sundials mention Dacia: pp.52-59 for the Oxford sundial which mentions Dacia, dated to the second century AD or later; pp.88-91 for the Vignacourt/Berteaucourt-les-Dames sundial dated to the end of the second century AD onwards; pp.93-99 for the Mérida sundial dated to the third century AD; pp.99-103 for the British Museum sundial dated to after the foundation of Constantinople in AD 320s.

while features of the physical landscape and peoples are not included.⁵ Despite some spatial misconceptions, these sundials demonstrate that the people who compiled them had a relatively accurate and far-reaching view of the *oikoumene*'s physical layout.⁶

Thus, this chapter examines everyday documents which mention the Dacian people. Roman military diplomas⁷ were created by the Roman state and issued to auxiliary soldiers or sailors upon completion of service.⁸ They were grants of citizenship which were official copies of a larger constitution in Rome and detailed an individual's place of origin as well as his military unit, name, and the names of his wife and children. Considering these documents contain the Roman state's definition of an individual's origin, they can tell modern audiences much about the worldview of the Roman officials who created the documents. This can then be contrasted with tombstones and dedications from different groups of peoples across the empire, including soldiers who fought in Domitian's Dacian Wars, to people with the ethnicon *Dacus* or *ex natione Dacus*. The chapter investigates how Dacians were presented by different people and in diverse settings. The various types of evidence show how the Roman state defined the location of the Dacian people compared to literary evidence and the monumental schemes set up in the imperial capital. They also illustrate different ways in which people could come into contact with their neighbours, be it through warfare, as fellow soldiers, or as members of a civic society. Such documents also show how people who identified as Dacian would choose to display this aspect of their identity, and how they interacted with their new surroundings following their migrations *ex natione Dacus*.

⁵ Talbert (2017) p.113.

⁶ Talbert (2017) pp.111-116; pp.135-136.

⁷ This is a modern term seen in Roxan's collection of these types of bronze documents. *RMD* I-V.

⁸ Roxan (1986) p.266 argued that soldiers would have had to buy their military diplomas, owing to the fact that more diplomas have been found belonging to cavalrymen than infantrymen.

4.1: Perpetually Conquered Dacians

The ways in which Dacians are portrayed in surviving literature and artwork suggest that the most obvious form of contact between the Roman state and the Dacian people in north-eastern Europe during the early Principate was through warfare. Augustus used his armies to extend Roman power, and his *Res Gestae* records how these armies helped to subdue the Dacians.⁹ However, they evidently did not remain conquered for long, as further wars were fought under Domitian and Trajan, with Trajan's victories in AD 102 and 106 celebrated in his forum and column in Rome. This monumental structure was surrounded by marble personifications of the Dacian people¹⁰ wearing conical caps which supposedly indicated Dacian nobility,¹¹ along with thick cloaks and trousers, bearded with their heads bowed and their arms across their chests or bound in poses of captivity or mourning (Fig.37).

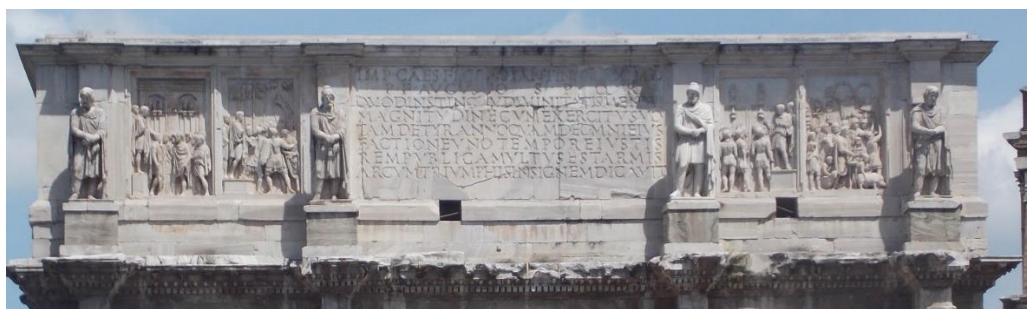


Figure 37. Captive Dacians perhaps from Trajan's Forum, re-used in the Arch of Constantine, Rome. Photograph Joanna Kemp.

These representations of the Dacians appeared in the attic of the east and west colonnades of the Forum to the south of the Basilica Ulpia. Here, they were 2.5m tall and made of white marble, whilst 3m tall statues were seen in the south façade of the basilica, made of pavonazzetto marble along with white marble for their heads and hands.¹² These were

⁹ *Res Gestae*, 30.2.

¹⁰ Packer (1997) V.1., p.99.

¹¹ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 68.9.1 called the Dacian nobility who went before Trajan *πιλοφόροι* (cap-wearers).

¹² Packer (1997) V.1, pp.99, 220.

placed alongside captured Dacian arms, Roman arms and the names of the legionary units who had played a role in defeating the enemy (Fig.38). Much like the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, it is unlikely that every individual who visited the forum would read the names of every military unit. However, soldiers visiting Rome who had served in the wars would probably seek out their own.¹³

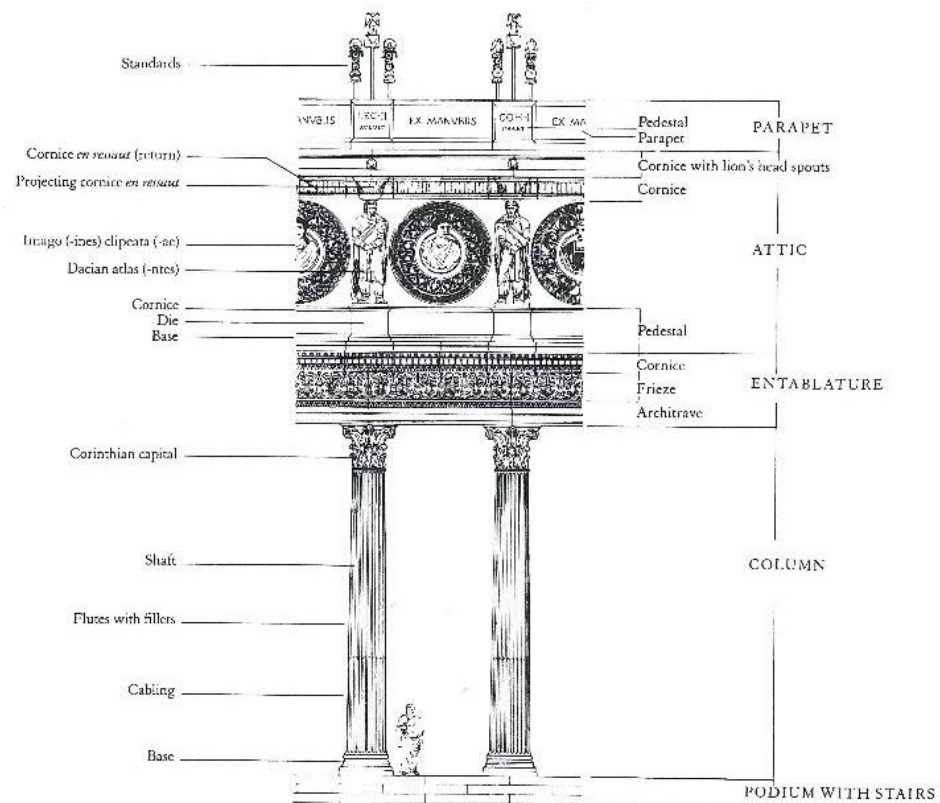


FIGURE 14
Rome, Forum of Trajan, order of east colonnade, bay.

Figure 38. Forum of Trajan reconstruction of the east colonnade. Image from J. Clarke (2003) p.33 fig.14. Originally from Packer (1997) V.1 p.xxii fig.A.

John Clarke has investigated how Trajan's Forum, Basilica and Column with lavish marble and plays of colour and light would have astonished first-time visitors, regardless of

¹³ J. Clarke (2003) pp.32-33 explored how the choice to display the Roman legions as inscribed names, instead of in sculptural form was a way to emphasise the obedience of the army and every soldier who worked together under Trajan in order to complete their goal. However, it should be noted that by the time the forum was set up, many of the veterans would not have originally been recruited from Rome, so it is unclear how many of them would have lived in the city after their service ended. Bakogianni (2015) p.6; Mann (1983) pp.54-63; Keppie (2000) pp.291-293; Fear (2015) p.243.

their social standing, background, or contact with the conquered Dacians.¹⁴ This repetition of captive Dacians and military standards and names would also have re-inforced the connection between warfare and the Dacians in the minds of the viewers, in a similar way to the ideas seen on the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias (See Chapter 3).

The emphasis on Trajan throughout the forum is also apparent and would have linked both the army and its victory over the Dacians to the emperor himself. He appears throughout the column on which he was depicted as *pater militum* and where he was eventually buried;¹⁵ his name is mentioned in many of the inscriptions around the forum, listing his honours.¹⁶ In the middle of the forum was a *heroon* or triumphal arch honouring Trajan¹⁷ and the emperor appeared on three monumental statues along the central axis: on a colossal equestrian statue,¹⁸ in a four horse triumphant chariot on the porch of the Basilica Ulpia, and atop the column.¹⁹ The repetition of such imagery made the overall message of the Forum clear to anyone visiting: the Dacians had been conquered by Trajan and the Roman army.²⁰ The permanence of this monument also ensured that the Dacians would be eternally defeated in the minds of the inhabitants of Rome who used the forum.²¹

Trajan's political aims ensured that the Dacians would be portrayed this way: he wanted to demonstrate the effectiveness of the Roman army to justify further campaigns in Parthia.²² Therefore, the agenda of the emperor partially dictated how people in Rome would have interacted with, and understood, the Dacian people. However, previously, Domitian had also tried to conquer Dacia. This war was heavily criticised by both Pliny the Younger and Cassius Dio. Pliny's *Panegyricus* praises Trajan, claiming that no more would

¹⁴ J. Clarke (2003) pp.31-41.

¹⁵ Fear (2015) pp.243-245.

¹⁶ J. Clarke (2003) p.32.

¹⁷ J. Clarke (2003) p.31, n.27.

¹⁸ Packer (1997) V.1., p.95.

¹⁹ J. Clarke (2003) p.31.

²⁰ J. Clarke (2003) p.31.

²¹ Edwards (2003) pp.65-67.

²² Davies (1997) p.62.

the Roman state have to buy its hostages,²³ which is a clear comment on Domitian's practice during his dealings with the Dacian king, Decebalus (see chapter 5). Cassius Dio was equally critical of the emperor²⁴ and Tacitus stated that mockery of Domitian for his false triumphs was common.²⁵ If such views were popularly held in the city of Rome, it would explain why Trajan sought to defeat the Dacians rather than make peace with them (see chapter 5), demonstrating how past contacts with Rome's neighbours, as well as societal beliefs, could influence future contacts and representations. However, tombstones from the soldiers who fought in Domitian's Dacian Wars give very different attitudes towards the wars. Rather than being an embarrassing mistake, in this context, the Dacian wars were used to praise the soldiers who fought in them.

For instance, in the following dedication (Fig.39) from Andautonia in Pannonia (Scitarjevo in modern Croatia), the deceased's career is given. He was military tribune of the *Legio VI Victrix*, quaestor of Sicilia, tribune of the plebs, praetorian legate of the *Legio IIII Scythica*, prefect of the *aerarium* of Saturn, curator of the *via Aemilia*, consul, *septemvir* of the *epulones*, *legatus pro praetore* of the provinces of Dalmatia, Pannonia and Moesia superior. It finally claims that the emperor Domitian, whose name has suffered *damnatio memoriae*, granted him military honours for his service in the Dacian war.²⁶ Accordingly, he was granted *corona muralis*,²⁷ *corona vallaris*,²⁸ *corona classica*²⁹ and *corona aurea*,³⁰ four *hastae purae*³¹ and four *vexilla*.³²

²³ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus*, 12.

²⁴ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 67.7.4.

²⁵ Tacitus, *Germania*, 41.

²⁶ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 67.7.3 claimed that the soldiers had not truly earned such honours, but that Domitian had handed them out as part of his claim to have defeated Decebalus.

²⁷ Maxfield (1981) pp.76-79. This crown was traditionally awarded to the first man to enter an enemy town by force (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 5.6.16; Polybius, *Historiae*, 6.39.5). However, under the Principate accordingly no one below the rank of centurion could win this crown, and it was a rare award.

²⁸ Maxfield (1981) pp.79-80. This was traditionally awarded to the first man over the enemy camp's *vallum* (Aulus Gellius, *Noctes Atticae*, 5.6.17). Maxfield questioned its existence in the Republican period but argues that it was fairly common in the Principate, though it lost its original significance.

L(ucio) Funisulano / L(uci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) Vettoniano / trib(uno) mil(itum) leg(ionis) VI Vict(ricis) quaes(tori) provinciae Siciliae / trib(uno) pleb(is) praet(ori) leg(ato) leg(ionis) IIII / Scythic(ae) praef(ecto) aerari(i) Satur(ni) curator(vi) viae Aemiliae co(n)s(uli) / VIIvir(o) epulonum leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) / provinc(iae) Dalmatiae item pro(vinc(iae) Pannoniae item Moesiae / superioris donato [[ab]] / [[Imp(eratore) Domitiano Aug(usto) Germani]]/[co]] bello Dacico coronis IIII / murali vallari classica aurea / hastis puris IIII vex(il)lis IIII / patrono / d(ecreto) d(ecurionum)

To Lucius Funisulanus Vettonianus, son of Lucius, of the Aniensis voting tribe, military tribune of the *legio VI Victrix*, quaestor of the province of Sicily, tribune of the plebs, praetorian legate of the *legio IIII Scythica*, praefect of the treasury of Saturn, curator of the Via Aemilia, consul, septemvir of the *epulones*, propraeatorial legate of the province of Dalmatia and the province of Pannonia and Moesia Superior, granted four crowns: *muralis*, *vallaris*, *classica*, *aurea*, four *hastae purae*, and four *vexilla* by Emperor Domitian Augustus Germanicus in the Dacian War. Set up to the patron by decree of the town councillors. - *CIL* 3, 4013.

²⁹ Maxfield (1981) pp.74-76 for the history of the crown. She demonstrates that despite its naval origins, by this point in the Principate it had little to do with naval battles. The last time it was awarded with such connotations was in AD 44, when Claudius supposedly conquered Oceanus to reach Britain (Suetonius, *Divus Claudius*, 17.3). The crown could only be awarded to those of consular rank and were omitted from the awards granted to the praetorian prefects, meaning this was one of the highest *dona* which could be awarded.

³⁰ Maxfield (1981) pp.80-81. These crowns were awarded for general valour and were not limited to a certain rank of society. This was the lowest type of crown awarded and evidence of it survives in pictorial representations on tombstones, rather than textual descriptions.

³¹ Maxfield (1981) pp.84-86.

³² Maxfield (1981) pp.82-84. It is not clear why the *vexillum* was originally included as a military decoration or who could win it. It became a standard decoration for officers under the Principate and at this time does not appear to have been awarded to anyone below the rank of prefect of the camp.

Dacians here are not represented as 'real' people, but an idealised barbarian. The aims of the honouree and his community dictated how the Dacian people were presented in this location.

A tombstone from Solva in Pannonia³³ dating to AD 89 also describes how the deceased won honours in the Dacian war, described as *bellum Dacicum*. It states how the deceased, whose name has been lost beyond Novatus, but who was a Roman citizen and a member of the Quirina voting tribe, was *praefectus* of the soldiers serving from Raetia in Domitian's Dacian war. A stone from Carthage also lists military honours won in the Dacian and Germanic wars of Domitian (Fig.40). Here, Domitian's name has not been destroyed by *damnatio memoriae*, and the fact that his imperial titles have not been given has been taken as evidence for this stone being set up after AD 96.³⁴

*Dis Manibus sacr(um) / Q(uintus) Vilanius Q(uinti) f(ilius) Vol(tinia) Nepos / Philippis
/(centurio) coh(ortis) XIII urb(anae) / donis donatus a Domitiano / ob bellum
Dacicum item ab / eodem ob bellum Germanicum / item torquibus armillis ob
bellum / Dacicum vixit ann(os) L militavit an(nos) XXXII / M(arcus) Silius Quintianus
optio bene merenti / posuit*

To the sacred departed spirits. Quintus Vilanius Nepos, son of Quintus, of the Voltinia voting tribe, from Philippi, centurion of the *cohort XIII urbana*, was awarded military decoration by Domitian on account of the Dacian War, and by the same on account of the Germanic War and torques and *armilla* on account of the Dacian War. He lived 50 years and served for 32 years. Marcus Silius Quintianus *optio* set this up to him, well deserving. - *CIL* 8, 1026.

³³ AE 1994, 1392: *Jidiu[s] 3] / Quir(ina) Novatus / praef(ectus) elec(torum) expedit(orum) / ex Raet(ia) bello Dacic(o) / praef(ectus) coh(ortis) III Britt(onum) / eq(uitatae) / donis mil(itaribus) hasta pura / vexil(lo) corona mural(i) / ab Imp(eratore) don(atu)s voto / suscep(to) in expedit(ione) Germani(ca)*. Novatus, of the Quirina voting tribe, praefect of the *electi* of the expedition from Raetia in the Dacian war, prefect of the *cohort III Britanni equitatae*, awarded military decorations by the emperor: *hastae purae*, *vexillum*, *corona muralis*, for a vow undertaken in the Germanic expedition.

³⁴ Bérard (1991) p.41.

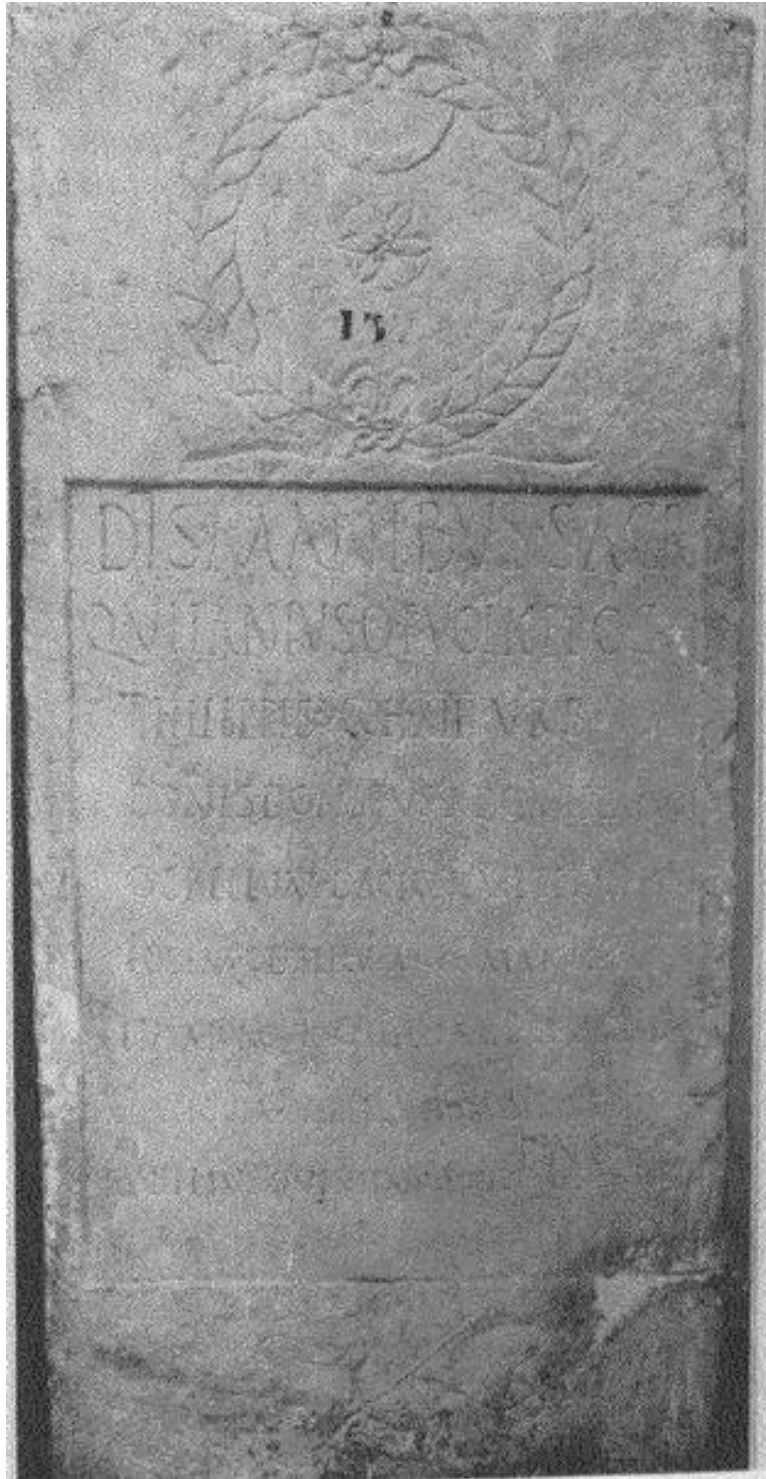


Figure 40. Tombstone of Quintus Vilanius Nepos, Carthage. Image from [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$CIL_08_01026.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$CIL_08_01026.jpg).

The stone commemorates one Quintus Vilanius Nepos, from Philippi. It records that he was a centurion of the urban cohort of the city of Carthage,³⁵ but he had won military honours from Domitian in the Dacian and German wars. While the commonly held view is that the

³⁵ Echols (1961) pp.25-28 on the formation of the *Cohors XIII Urbana* of Carthage under Vespasian.

Thirteenth Urban Cohort from Carthage was sent to the Danube region to fight in these wars,³⁶ François Bérard has argued that it is possible that Q. Vilanius Nepos won these awards as a member of another contingent.³⁷ His honours are given as torques³⁸ and *armilla*,³⁹ which could possibly be depicted on the tombstone at the top of the wreath above the text. While he is named in the text as a centurion of the urban cohorts, the fact that he was not also awarded higher honours such as crowns, which were traditionally reserved for officers of the army, would suggest that he was not yet a centurion when he was awarded the torques and *armillae*.⁴⁰ Three wars are mentioned: *bellum Dacicum*, *bellum Germanicum* and another *bellum Dacicum*. It is probable that this refers to the different stages of Domitian's wars: the first phase against the Dacians in AD 86 or AD 88, the campaign against the Chatti in AD 89, and the second phase against the Dacians in AD 89.⁴¹ The Dacian people are only being mentioned as far as they allowed the soldiers who were commemorated on the stones to be awarded military honours. These stones show how the Roman army would have interacted with the Dacian people, in wars of conquest. But they also show that the foreign Dacians here were used only to fulfil the need of those being commemorated. Just like the Germani, these Dacians were foreigners who needed to be defeated in order to show the valour of the deceased soldiers. The Dacians are not 'real' people, but a perceived barbarian who could be conquered in order to gain prestige for the soldiers in their defeat.

³⁶ Maxfield (1981) p.130.

³⁷ Bérard (1991) pp.39-51.

³⁸ Maxfield (1981) pp.86-88. These were accordingly given as a symbol of the defeat of the barbarian enemy. However, there is no evidence as to how the torques were earned or whether there were restrictions on the rank of those who received them. They were one of the lesser decorations during the Principate and never given to senior officers. They could be awarded to individuals or whole units. They were not worn around the neck in the same way as Celts wore them but attached to the soldier's cuirass.

³⁹ Maxfield (1981) pp.89-91. These were decorations previously worn by Rome's barbarian enemies, and thus awarded to soldiers in a similar way to torques. They were never awarded to officers of higher rank than centurion and often awarded with torques or *phalerae* to the rank and file or junior officers.

⁴⁰ Bérard (1991) pp.41-42.

⁴¹ Bérard (1991) p.41.

This is seen most clearly in the tombstone commemorating Tiberius Claudius Maximus (Fig.41). This individual, who was buried in Philippi in Macedonia, is recorded as having killed the Dacian king, Decebalus, and sent his head to the emperor during the Trajanic Dacian Wars.

Ti(berius) Claudius / Maximus vet(eranus) / [s(e)] v(ivo) f(aciendum) c(uravit) militavit / eque(s) in leg(ione) VII C(laudia) P(ia) F(ideli) fac/tus qu(a)estor equit(um) / singularis legati le/gionis eiusdem vexil/larius equitum item / bello Dacico ob virtu/te(m) donis donatus ab Im/p(eratore) Domitiano factus dupli(carius) / a divo Tra<a=O>iano in ala secu(n)d(a) / Pannoniorum a quo et fa(c)/tus explorator in bello Da/cico et ob virtute(m) bis donis / donatus bello Dacico et / Parthico et ab eode(m) factus / decurio in ala eade(m) quod / cepisset Decebalu(m) et caput / eius pertulisset ei Ranissto/ro missus voluntarius ho/nesta missione a Terent[i]o Scau]/riano consulare [exerci]/tus provinciae nov[ae Mes]/[opotamiae]

Tiberius Claudius Maximus, a veteran, saw to the setting up of this whilst alive. He served as an *eques* in the *legio VII Claudia Pia Fidelis*, was made *quaestor equitum* and then *singularis legati legionis*, *vexillarius* of the *equites*. In the Dacian War on account of his virtue he was awarded military decorations by Emperor Domitian and made *duplicarius* by the divine Trajan in the *ala secunda Pannoniorum*, and then was made a scout in the Dacian War and on account of his virtue was twice given military decoration in the Dacian and Parthian Wars and by the same person was made *decurio* in the same *ala*, because he had captured Decebalus and carried his head back to him in *Ranisstorum*. He received honest discharge as a *voluntarius* from Terentius Scaurianus of consular rank, of the army of the province of New Mesopotamia. - *AE*, 1985, 721.



Figure 41. Tombstone of Tiberius Claudius Maximus where he is depicted riding down Decebalus, along with some of his military decorations. Archaeological Museum, Drama, East Macedonia, Greece. Image from <https://commons.wikimedia.org/w/index.php?curid=18869046>.

The text records that he was awarded *dona* on account of his virtues in the *bellum Dacicum* of Domitian, and then again by Trajan, who also awarded him decorations for his efforts in

the Parthian war (*bellum Parthicum*). The text and image work together here: Decebalus is depicted as a bearded and trousered barbarian with a conical cap. Some of the honours which the deceased won as a result of this can be seen below this image. It is odd that not all of his honours are shown on the relief, and Michael Spiedel has suggested that perhaps more would have been shown on the parts of the stone which no longer survive.⁴² The size of the barbarian below the rider leaves little doubt as to the soldier's attitude towards the Dacians, and once again, his tomb emphasises the honours which could be won from conquering barbarian nations.

This depiction of the Dacians as conquered enemies on honorific inscriptions and tombstones therefore continued into Trajan's reign. A bilingual inscription in the Theatre of Dionysus from Athens also preserves Hadrian's role in the war (Fig.42).

P(ublio) Aelio P(ubli) f(ilio) Serg(ia) Hadriano / co(n)s(uli) VIIviro epulonum sodali Augustali leg(ato) pro pr(aetore) Imp(eratoris) Nervae Traiani / Caesaris Aug(usti) Germanici Dacici Pannoniae inferioris praetori eodemque / tempore leg(ato) leg(ionis) I Minerviae P(iae) F(idelis) bello Dacico item trib(uno) pleb(is) quaestori Imperatoris / Traiani et comiti expeditionis Dacicae donis militaribus ab eo donato bis trib(uno) leg(ionis) II / Adiutricis P(iae) F(idelis) item legionis V Macedonicae item legionis XXII Primigeniae P(iae) F(idelis) sevir / turmae eq(uitum) R(omanorum) praef(ecto) feriarum Latinarum Xviro s(tlitibus) i(udicandis) // ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου βουλὴ καὶ ἡ τῶν ἑξακοσίων καὶ ὁ δῆμος ὁ Ἀθηναίων τὸν ἄρχοντα ἑαυτῶν Ἀδριανόν.

To Publius Aelius Hadrianus, son of Publius, of the Sergia voting tribe, consul, septemvir of the *epulones sodalis Augustalis*, and propraeorian legate of Emperor Nerva Trajan Caesar Augustus Germanicus Dacicus in Pannonia Inferior, praetor, at the same time legate of the *legio I Minervia Pia Fidelis* in the Dacian War. Also tribune of the plebs, quaestor of Emperor Trajan and *comes* of the Dacian expedition, he was twice awarded military decorations by the emperor. Tribune of the *Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis* and the *legio V Macedonica* and *legio XXII Primigenia Pia Fidelis*, *sevir* of the *turma* of Roman *equites*, prefect of Latin festivals, decimvir *stlitibus iudicandis*. // The council on the Areopagus and the council of the six hundred and the people of Athens [set this up] for their *archon*, Hadrian. - *CIL* 3, 550. *IG* II² 3286.

⁴² Speidel (1970) p.152.

Geminae in Hispania. He ordered this set up according to his will and dedicated it with a feast. - *CIL* 3, 6359.

It records a dedication made by Gaius Statius Celsus and lists his military career. Accordingly, he was given military *dona* by Trajan in the form of twice *corona aurea*, torques, *armillae* and *phalerae*. Unlike the previous stones, he overtly states that these were awarded to him on account of the triumphs in the Dacian War (*ob triumphos belli Dacici*). A further sixteen inscriptions from the reign of Trajan mention his *bella Dacica* and how the soldiers who fought in them won military honours, linking the ideas of conquest and military victory with the Dacian people in the minds of people who saw, or set up, the stones. These come from across the empire including Dalmatia,⁴³ Thrace,⁴⁴ Pannonia Inferior,⁴⁵ Gaul,⁴⁶ Syria,⁴⁷ Italia,⁴⁸ Mauretania,⁴⁹ Africa Proconsularis,⁵⁰ Hispania,⁵¹ and

⁴³ *CIL* 3, 1940 in Salona commemorates a centurion, Sextus Aquillius Severus who was given military decorations by Trajan in the *bellum Dacicum*. The dedication dates to AD 102-117 and records that the individual was also the *decurio* of the towns of Salona and Flanona. *CIL* 3, 2917 in Iader from AD 102-130 sees Quintus Raecius Rufus record his valour in Vespasian and Trajan's *bellum Iudaicum* and *bellum Dacicum*, for which he was decorated.

⁴⁴ *CIL* 3, 7397 in Perinthus from AD 101-130 records that Marcus Iulius Avitus, centurion, was twice awarded military decoration in the *bellum Dacicum et bellum Germanicum*.

⁴⁵ *CIL* 3, 10224 dating to AD 107-117 in Sirmium honours Titus Cominius Severus, a centurion who lived forty-five years and was awarded torques, *armillae*, *phalerae* and a *corona vallaria* for his conduct in the *bellum Dacicum*.

⁴⁶ *CIL* 12, 3167 from Nemausus records individuals who were awarded *in] / bello Dacico coronis murali et vallari h[asta pura] / vexillo*.

⁴⁷ *CIL* 3, 14387d, set up in Heliopolis, records the career of a soldier who served in the *Legio III Scythica* in the Dacian War and won military decorations in Trajan's Parthian War.

⁴⁸ *CIL* 5, 6977 dating from AD 103 in Turin honours Quintus Glitius Agricola who was awarded military decorations in Trajan's *bello Dacico*. *CIL* 6, 1444 from Rome records how Trajan overcame the Dacian people and their king, Decebalus, in war (*gentem Dacorum et regem Decebalum bello superavit*) and also granted the soldier, whose name does not survive, military decorations, including *hasta pura VIII vexilla VIII / corona muralia II vallaria II classica II / aurata I*. *CIL* 6, 3584 from Rome honours Tiberius Claudius Vitalus who received torques, *armillae*, *phalerae* and a *corona valaria* in the *bello Dacico* and lists his successive promotions through various different legions. *CIL* 11, 2112 from AD 117-138 found in Clusium honours a soldier, whose name is now lost, who won military decorations *ob bellum Dacicum* and then further honours under Hadrian, though the wars have been lost. *CIL* 11, 5646 from AD 132 in Matilica records that Caius Arrius Clementus was awarded torques, *armilla* and *phalerae* by Trajan *ob bellum Dacicum* and was also awarded *hasta pura* and *corona aurea* by Hadrian. *CIL* 11, 5696 from Tuficum records that Caius Caesius Silvestrus received his *dona* in the *bello Dacico*. *CIL* 11, 5992 dated to AD 101-131 from Tifernum Mataurense honours Lucius Aconius Statura who was honoured by Trajan *ob bellum Dacicum* with torques, *armilla*, *phalera*, *corona vallaria* and was also granted *dona* for his service in the *bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum*.

⁴⁹ *CIL* 8, 9990, *AshLI* 15 in AD 110-114 records the career of P. Besius Betuinianus. He had been the provincial governor in Tingitana but had previously held military commands during Trajan's *bellum Dacicum*, during which time he had been awarded military decorations by Trajan for his valour.

Asia.⁵² These tombstones and dedications by and to soldiers and statesmen show that the idea that the Dacian people had been conquered by the Roman army was a widely commemorated one, as demonstrated on the map (Fig.43) depicting the findspots of the inscriptions mentioned.



Figure 43. Findspots of inscriptions mentioning *bella Dacica* and the military honours awarded to individuals who fought in them are given in purple. Blank map from <http://wps.ablongman.com/wps/media/objects/262/268312/art/figures/KISH106.jpg>.

The idea that glory was gained from the Dacian wars was spread by soldiers who wished to commemorate their own great deeds, and the above map demonstrates how the wide-reaching geographical makeup of the Roman army could allow for the spread of ideas across the empire. The army's contact with foreign peoples, and the desires of the soldiers – be they commanders or ordinary rank and file – to have their military valour recorded

⁵⁰ *IDRE* 2, 424 from Thurburbo Maius records that Marcus Vettius Latronus received honours for his service in *bello Dac(ico)*.

⁵¹ *CIL* 2, 6304 from Ujo in Hispania citerior records that Gaius Sulpicius Ursulus fought in the allied units during the *bellum Dacicum* and lists his commands.

⁵² *IDRE* 1, 177 is a bilingual inscription from AD 112-114 in Ephesus. It records that Marcus Gavius Bassus received *dona* from Trajan for his service in the *bellum Dacicum*.

could affect how Rome's neighbours were presented when soldiers returned to civilian life. The fact that it was the Dacians who had been defeated was second to the recording of the honours. Although the monumental civic schemes of Trajan in the centre of Rome depict the Dacians as conquered, it is through these everyday dedications and memorials that the people in the rest of the Roman Empire would have learned of the Dacians' defeat. To the people reading these stones, it is not necessarily clear where the Dacians were geographically. Instead, their conquest is apparent.

4.2: Differing Ideas of 'Dacia'

Thus, the official representation of the Dacians in Rome was as perpetually defeated enemies, and this was repeated by soldiers looking to emphasise their own military prowess and glory. However, there is the obvious question of who were the Dacians? The province of Dacia created by Trajan and subdivided by Hadrian lay to the north of the Danube. Given the ethnic name of the province, it would be expected that this new region was where the Dacian people were thought to have come from. Yet, a tombstone from third-century Rome describes an individual who was 'of the Dacian nation but born in Serdican region'⁵³ in modern-day Bulgaria, to the south of the Danube. Thus, by the third century there was evidently an idea in Rome that geographic area and ethnicity were two different concepts.⁵⁴ Before this province was created, there is evidence that the Roman state was unsure of the exact location of this people in relation to the Danube. The *Res Gestae* states:

⁵³ CIL 6, 2605: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aur(elio) Victo<r=P>ino / mil(iti) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) nati/one Dacisca regione / Serdic(a) n(ato) vicit an(nos) XXX / mil(iti) in legione an(nos) VI in pr(aetorio) an(nos) IIII fecit me/meoria Valerius Augus/tus mil(es) coh(ortis) VI pr(aetoriae) fratri / bene meranti fec(it)*. To the departed spirits. Aurelius Victorinus, a soldier from the sixth praetorian cohort, from the Dacian nation, born in the Serdican region, lived thirty years. He was a soldier in the legion for six years, in the praetorian guard for four years. Valerius Augustus, a soldier in the sixth praetorian cohort, set this up to his well deserving brother.

⁵⁴ Noy (2000) p.218.

Citra quod Dacorum transgressus exercitus meis auspiciis victus profligatusque est, et postea trans Danuvium ductus exercitus meus Dacorum gentes imperia populi Romani perferre coegit.

An army of Dacians which crossed to this side of that river [the Danube] was conquered and overwhelmed under my auspices, and afterwards my army was led across the Danube and compelled the Dacian peoples to endure the command of the Roman people. – *Res Gestae*, 30 (trans. Cooley (2009) p.94).

Here the use of *citra* and *transgressus* imply that the Dacian people had crossed from the north of the Danube. As seen in Chapter 2, Dionysius of Alexandria also placed the Dacian people with the barbarian tribes to the north of the Danube, in contrast with the civilized cities to the south. Furthermore, Trajan's Column seems to confirm this idea. In the third scene, some six metres above ground level, the Danube river god aids the Roman soldiers as they begin their campaign (Fig.45).

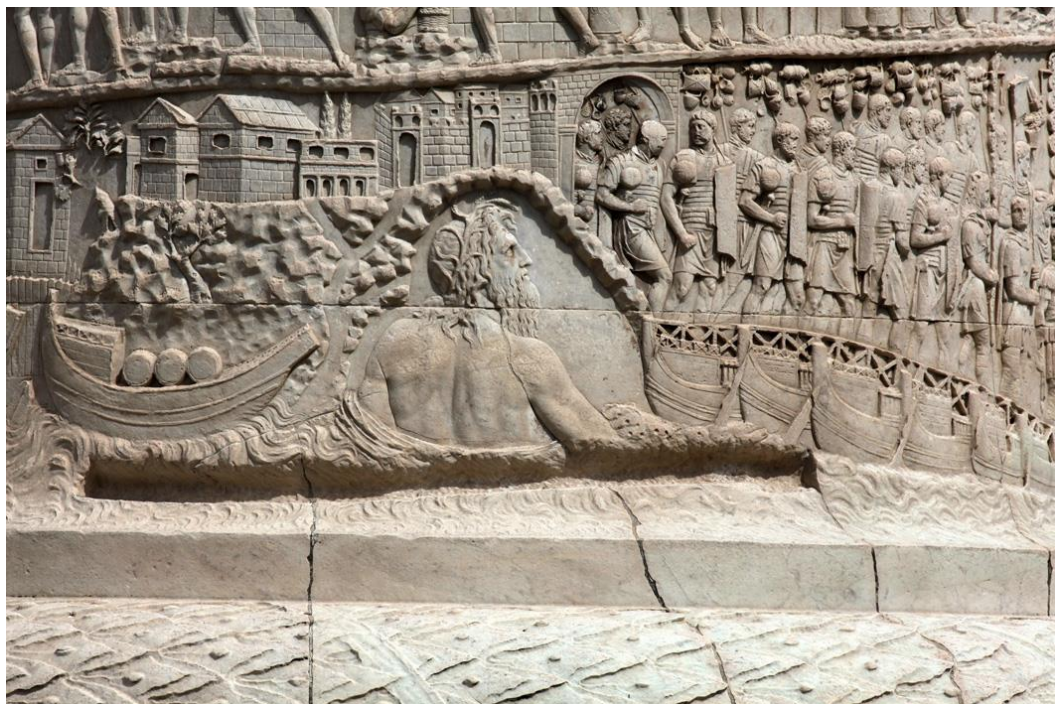


Figure 44. Trajan's Column, Rome. Scene depicting the River god aiding the Roman army across the Danube at the start of the Dacian expedition. Image from http://www.trajans-column.org/?page_id=276.

The fact that the operation begins with the crossing of the Danube would imply that it was only the Dacians on the northern shore with whom Trajan was waging war.

However, not all media create such a simple picture. For example, Strabo tried to distinguish the Dacians as a subset of Getae,⁵⁵ but also stated that they would live on both sides of the Danube mixed with Thracians and Moesians.⁵⁶ He also claimed that the force of the Dacians has been greatly diminished and that they are almost subservient to Rome. However, the geographer described them as not yet totally submissive (*οὐπω δ' εἰσὶν ὑποχείριοι τελέως*), contrasting with the idea put forward by Augustus' *Res Gestae*. Yet the annexation of Dacia under Trajan did seem to have an effect on how ancient authors wrote about the division of the world and the peoples who made it. While previously Strabo had described the Daci as a subset of the Getae, they were now being clearly separated. This can be seen in Dionysius of Alexandria's *Periegesis* written under Hadrian.

*Τοῦ μὲν πρὸς βορέην τετανυσμένα φύλα νέμονται/πολλὰ μάλ' ἐξείης Μαιώτιδος
ἐς στόμα λίμνης,/Γερμανοὶ Σαμάται τε Γέται θ' ἄμα Βαστάρναι τε,/Δακῶν τ'
ἄσπετος αἶα καὶ ἀλκήεντες Ἄλανοι,/Ταῦροί θ', οἳ ναίουσιν Ἀχιλλῆος δρόμον
αἰπύν,/Στεινὸν ὁμοῦ δολιχόν τε, καὶ αὐτῆς ἐς στόμα λίμνης.*

From here the many northern peoples inhabit the land, diffused/ to the limit of the swamp of Maeotis, stretched to the mouth,/ the Germans, Sarmatians, also together the Getae and Bastarnae,/ the immense land of the Dacians and warlike Alani,/ and the Tauri, who inhabit the steep course of Achilles,/ narrow and long and until the mouth of the swamp itself. - Dionysius, *Periegesis*, ll.302-306.

Dionysius firmly rejected Roman administration and emphasised the natural world as it had been put forth by the gods (See 2.1). Thus, it is logical that he would use the Danube River as a limit rather than a Roman province. Here the river divides the tribes to the north from those to the south who lived in cities. Despite Dionysius being influenced by his poetic form, there was the idea that the Danube River separated the Dacian people from the Roman provinces to the south of the Danube seen in both second-century artwork and poetry. However, the third-century author, Cassius Dio illustrates an awareness that ethnic

⁵⁵ Strabo, *Geographia*, 7.3.12.

⁵⁶ Strabo, *Geographia*, 7.3.13.

identity could differ depending upon who the identifier was, and that it was not simply the case that Rome had the power to dictate that the people beyond the Danube were Dacian.

Οἱ δὲ ἐπ' ἀμφοτέρω τοῦ Ἰστροῦ νέμονται, ἀλλ' οἱ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰδε αὐτοῦ καὶ πρὸς τῇ Τριβαλλιᾷ οἰκοῦντες ἔς τε τὸν τῆς Μυσίας νομὸν τελοῦσι καὶ Μυσοί, πλὴν παρὰ τοῖς πάνυ ἐπιχωρίοις, ὀνομάζονται, οἱ δὲ ἐπέκεινα Δακοὶ κέκληνται, εἴτε δὴ Γέται τινὲς εἴτε καὶ Θρᾷκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ γένους τοῦ τὴν Ῥοδόπην ποτὲ ἐνοικήσαντος ὄντες.

...and the Dacians inhabit both sides of the Ister; but those living on this side near the Triballi towards the pastures of Moesia and are called Moesians, except by those living in the actual country, while those on the other side are called Dacians. They are either Getae or they are Thracians of the Dacian race which once inhabited Rhodope. - Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 51.22.6-7.

Here it can be seen that Dacians could inhabit the Roman province of Moesia to the south of the Danube, and that outsiders would thus identify them as Moesian. However, they did not refer to themselves this way. In contrast, those beyond the Danube were the Dacians proper in the eyes of Cassius Dio, and judging by previous presentations of these people, were identified as such by the Roman state as well. Military diplomas go on to highlight this dichotomy between one's own identity and one's identity as perceived by an outsider.

As stated above, artwork and literature are not the only ways in which the people of the Roman world could learn, or express what they knew, about the world and their neighbours. As has been demonstrated, a common way in which the Dacians were presented was as bellicose yet conquered enemies. However, there is also evidence in the form of military diplomas that 'Daci' served in the Roman army. Military diplomas were two inscribed bronze tablets first issued under Claudius. They granted citizenship to inhabitants of the Roman Empire who had fought for twenty-five years in the army in the auxiliary units, navy or *equites singulares Augusti* and *cohortes urbanae*, which accepted non-citizen soldiers. Soldiers were given the right to marry and citizenship was granted to any children the soldier might have. By the first century AD, auxiliaries were a regular part of the Roman army, but normally had Roman citizens as their commanders. However, by the second-third

centuries AD, these commanders were also drawn from legionary veterans. Surviving diplomas contain the full text on the outside of Tabula I, with the names of witnesses on Tabula II, while the information remained sealed on the inside of these tablets.

The diplomas contain the names of several auxiliary units which served in the same province, as well as the name of the veteran receiving citizenship. They are very formulaic and give details about the individual's unit, commander, rank, name, father, origin, wife, and children. The soldier's ethnicon is given after his names. Thus, these documents can give a lot of information about the geographical makeup of the Roman army. Sara Phang described auxiliary units as multicultural populations, rather than simply being kept as ethnic units with unique communities and fighting styles.⁵⁷ Therefore, while a number of *cohortes Dacorum* are known, issues of regional recruitment and the unlikelihood of ethnic exceptionalism within the Roman army,⁵⁸ whereby ethnic units were kept together with their own fighting tactics, mean that these are not a reliable way to trace the movement of soldiers whom the Roman state identified as 'Dacian.'⁵⁹ However, several diplomas from the time of Vespasian onwards contain the ethnicon *Dacus*. Generally, when *Dacus* appears on a military diploma, the soldier is not serving within a *cohors Dacorum*. Thus, the inclusion of ethnicon would be a way to emphasise his origins within a cosmopolitan environment. The origins of the names given could give some indication as to where the Roman state believed Dacians to live before the province of Dacia was formed by Trajan. They also provide an alternative view of the Dacian peoples as presented in monumental artwork or inscriptions, or soldiers' tombstones and dedications: these men had not been conquered in war but were partaking in it on the side of the Roman army.

⁵⁷ Phang (2008) p44.

⁵⁸ Haynes (2013) pp.289-292.

⁵⁹ Lepper and Frere (1988) p.273 previously argued that the presence of *falces* depicted on dedications made by *cohortes Aelia Dacorum et Thracum* (RIB 1909) and *cohors I Aelia Dacorum* (RIB 1914) along Hadrian's wall were evidence that Dacians served here and retained their own fighting style. However, Haynes (2013) pp.289-292 has used archaeological evidence from graves to argue that the Dacian units on the wall would not actually have fought with the *falces*, as none have been recovered there, meaning that this depiction was simply a marker of identity.

The earliest diplomas mentioning 'Dacus' seem to come from the reign of Vespasian. Interestingly, the one below talks of granting citizenship to peregrine soldiers who served in the *Legio II Adiutrix* rather than an auxiliary unit.

Tabella I extrinsecus:

*Imp(erator) Vespasianus Caes(ar) Aug(ustus) tr(ibunicia) pot(estate) co(n)s(ul) / causari(is) qui militaverunt in leg(ione) II Ad/iutrice P(ia) F(idele) qui bello inutiles facti ante / emeritis stipendi(i)s exauctorati sunt et / dimissi honesta missione quorum / nomina subscripta sunt ip[s]is liberis poste/risq(ue) eorum civitatem dedit et conubium cum / uxoribus quas tunc habuissent cum e(st) / civitas iis data aut si qui caelibes essent / (!) iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat sing/{g}uli singulas / Imp(eratore) Vespasiano Caes(are) Aug(usto) II Caesare Aug(usti) / f(ilio) Vespasiano co(n)s(ulibus) Non(is) Mart(iis) <Descriptum et> recogn/itu(m) ex tabula aenea quae fi<x=CT>a est Romae in / Capitolio ante emeritorum(!) ante aram gentis Iuliae extri(n)secus podium lateris / dexteriori contra signum Liberi{s} Patris / tabula II **Zurazis Deceballi f(ilius) Dacus** //*

Tabella II extrinsecus:

C(ai) Vetidi Rasi(ni)ani Philippens(is) / Ti(beri) Claudi Clinae Philippens(is) / C(ai) Flamini Regili Apre(n)sis / C(ai) Iuli Pudentis Philippensis / L(uci) Valeri Capitonis leg(ionis) II mis(sicii) / L(ucius!) Peticius(!) Bassus(!) leg(ionis) II miss(icius!) / P(ubli) Rutili Norbani leg(ionis) II P(iae) F(idelis)

Tabella 1 extrinsecus:

Imperator Vespasian Caesar Augustus, holding tribunician power and consul, has granted citizenship to those who have been discharged who served in the *Legio II Adiutrix Pia Fidelis*, who having previously become incapacitated in war, and having completed their terms of military service, have been discharged and been released with honourable discharge, whose names are written below, and to their children and descendants, and has granted the right of marriage with those wives whom they had at that time when citizenship was given to them, or if they were unmarried, to those whom they married afterwards, provided each one married one woman. While Emperor Vespasian Caesar Augustus was consul for the second time, and Caesar Vespasian son of Augustus was consul on the Nones of March. Described and checked from the bronze tablet of those who had previously been discharged which has been set up in Rome on the Capitoline in front of the altar of the gens Iulia on the outer right side of the podium facing the statue of Liber Pater

Tabella 2:

Zurazis son of Decebalus, a Dacian.

Tabella 2 *extrinsecus*:

Of Gaius Vetidus Rasianianus of Philippi, Of Tiberius Claudius Clina of Philippi, Of Gaius Flaminus Regilus of Aper, Of Gaius Iulius Pudens of Phillipi, of Lucius Valerius Capito discharged from the second legion. Lucius Peticius Bassus discharged from the second legion, of Publius Rutilius Norbanus from the Legio II Pia Fidelis... - AE, 2008, 1759

This diploma was issued by Vespasian on 7th March AD 70. It grants citizenship to one Zurazis, son of Decebalus, along with any wife he might have after this time, and his existing children. A further fragmentary diploma from this date was found near Archar in Bulgaria; the name of the soldier on this second diploma has been lost, but -*F. Daco* can still be seen (Fig.45),⁶⁰ suggesting that several people from this regiment were recruited from the same area and were identified by the Roman state as Dacian.

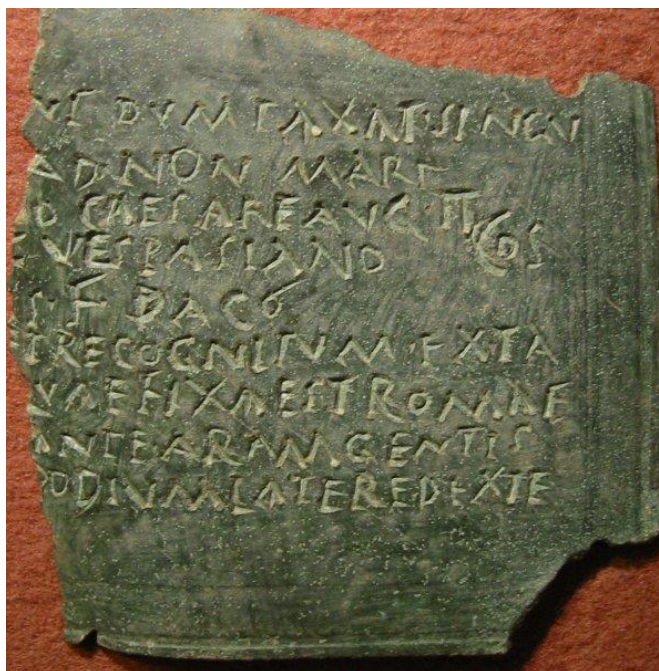


Figure 45. RMD 5, 323. Image from [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$AP_RMD-05_00323_1.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AP_RMD-05_00323_1.jpg).

In 1941 András Kerényi compiled a list of 'Dacian' names from the early Principate. While there are obvious drawbacks to using onomastics to identify someone's place of origin, since names can come in and out of fashion or travel across boundaries as contact

⁶⁰ RMD 5, 323, tabella 2 extrinsecus line 16.

increases, the addition of a Dacus ethnic identifier can afford another level of certainty to individuals' perceived origins, which onomastics alone cannot provide. The name Zurazis, from the first diploma, does not appear in Kerényi's list of names seen in Dacia, but a variation of it, Zurozis, does.⁶¹ According to Kerényi, the name is of Thracian origin. Decebalus also, although the name of the king against whom Domitian waged war, was a common name in Moesia. Thus, it is probable that Zarazis came from the region of Moesia and returned home after his service ended. However, it is telling that he was identified by the Roman state as 'Dacian.' No formal province had been organised at this point, and this diploma was both long after Burebista's wars but long before Domitian's, so the chances of this being an individual who was defeated north of the Danube and forced to serve in the army seem slim. Rather than showing the Dacians to the north of the Danube participating in the Roman army, it is far more likely that this soldier came from Moesia, to the south of the Danube.⁶² This shows that Dacians were thought to live to the south of the Danube at this time, despite Augustus' claim in the *Res Gestae* that they had been forced to the far side of the Danube, and despite later presentations of them as existing simply to the north of the Danube on Trajan's Column, or in the writings of authors such as Dionysius of Alexandria. Rather, this supports the claims made by the roughly contemporary Pliny the Elder, who spoke of how various Scythian nations occupied both sides of the Danube, including the Getae, Dacians, Sarmatians, Aorsi, Troglodytes, Alani and Roxolani.⁶³ This diploma shows a difference between the monumental, public representations of the Dacians and the more everyday identification of them.

A further diploma issued also belongs to an individual who is identified as Dacus.

*Imp(erator) Vespasian<us=I> Caesar{is} Aug(ustus) tr/ibunicia potestate co(n)s(ul) II
benefic/iari(i) qui militant in classe Raven/nate sub Sex(to) Lucilio Basso quorum /*

⁶¹ Kerényi (1941) no.2515: L Vibius Zurozis, Aptasae filius.

⁶² Roxan and Holder (2003) p.393.

⁶³ Pliny the Elder, *Naturalis Historia*, 4.80-81.

*nomina subscripta sunt ipsis liberis / posteri{q}ue eorum civitatem dedi/t et
conubium cum uxoribus quas / tun<c=G> habuissent cum est civitas iis / data aut si
qui caelibes essent cum //*

*iis quas postea duxissent dumta/xat singuli singulas a(nte) d(iem) IIII K(alendas)
Ma/rtias Imp(eratore) Vespasiano Caesare / Aug(usto) II Caesare Aug(usti) f(ilio)
Vespasiano / co(n)s(ulibus) **Dernal/us Derdipili f(ilius) Dacus** / descriptum et
recognitum ex / tabula aenea quae fixa est Rom/ae in Capitolio in podio mur/i ante
aedem Geni(i) p(opuli) R(omani) //*

*Q(uinti) Antisti Q(uinti) f(ili) Ser(gia) Rufi Clodiani / Philipp(iensis) / eq(uitis)
R(omani) / C(ai) Vettidi Rasiniani / L(uci) Valeri Nasonis Phil(ippiensis) / P(ubli) Vetti
Pieri Philip(piensis) / M(arci) Vivi Macedonis vet(erani) / C(ai) Cassi Longini
vete//r(ani) / C(ai) Iuli Aquilae Apren/sis //*

Imperator Vespasian Caesar Augustus, holding tribunician power and consul for the second time, has granted citizenship to the *beneficiarii* who served in the Ravenna fleet under Sextus Lucilius Bassus, whose names are written below, and to their children and descendents, and has granted the right of marriage with those wives whom they had at the time when citizenship was given to them, or if they were unmarried, to those whom they married afterwards, provided each one married one woman. While Imperatore Vespasian Caesar Augustus was consul for the second time, and Caesar Vespasian son of Augustus was consul, four days before the kalends of Mars. **Dernalus son of Derdipilus, a Dacian**, described and checked from the bronze tablet which has been set up in Rome on the Capitoline on the wall of the podium before the temples of the genius of the Roman people.

Quintus Antistus Rufus Coldianus, son of Quintus of the Sergia voting tribe, from Philippi, a Roman *eques*, Gaius Vettidus Rasinianus, Lucius Valerius Naso of Philippi, Publius Vettus Pierus of Philippi, Marcus Vivus of Macedon, a veteran, Gaius Cassus Longinus, a veteran, Gaius Iulius Aquila of Aper. – *RMD* 4, 203.

This is the earliest example of a diploma issued by Vespasian and dates to 26th February AD 70. In this instance, the individual served in the fleet at Ravenna. The name of the individual is possibly Dernauius, son of Derdipilus, but it is not clear from the two faces if an -i- or an -l- is used (Fig.46), meaning it could also be Dernalus.⁶⁴

⁶⁴ Roxan and Holder (2003) p.393.

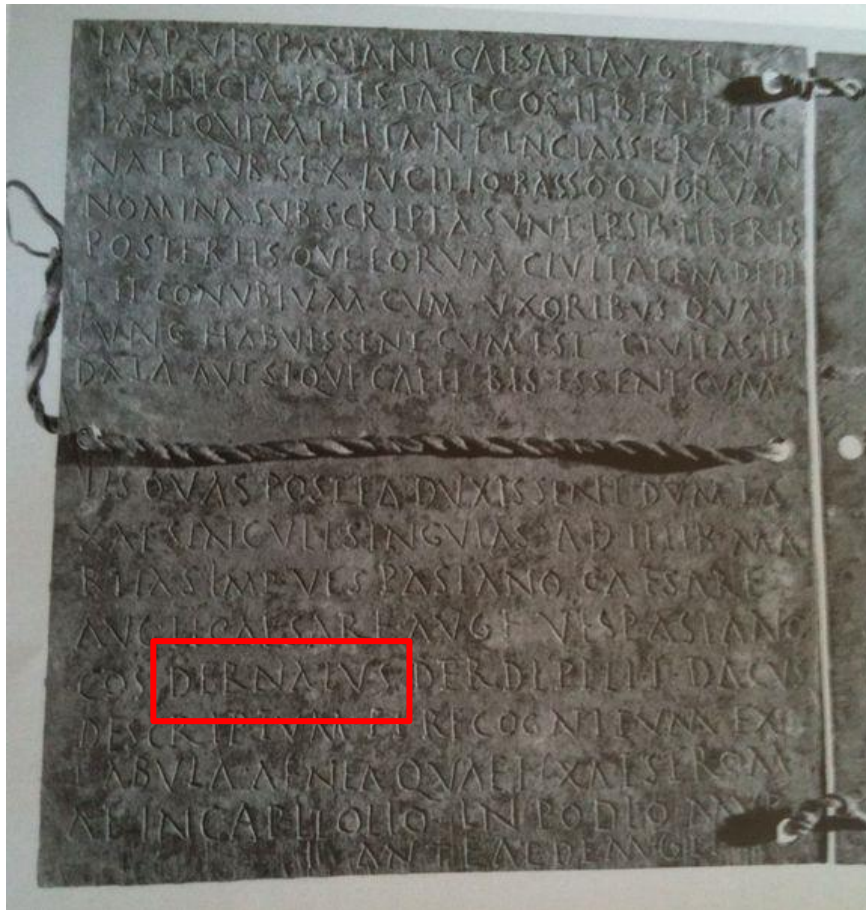


Figure 46. RMD 4, 203. Image from [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$JRA-1996-247_1.jpg;\\$JRA-1996-247_2.jpg;\\$JRA-1996-247_3.jpg;\\$JRA-1996-247_4.jpg&nr=4](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$JRA-1996-247_1.jpg;$JRA-1996-247_2.jpg;$JRA-1996-247_3.jpg;$JRA-1996-247_4.jpg&nr=4).

While neither appears in Kerényi's list of names from the province of Dacia, Dernauius is reported by Dimiter Destchew in his work on the Thracian language.⁶⁵ Roxan has noted that names with a DER- stem, like those of both this individual and his father, were common in Moesia,⁶⁶ once again making this a likely origin for this sailor. However, as with the above diploma, he is still identified as Dacus. A further diploma from AD 71 records a Tutio, son of Butus as Dacus in the fleet at Misenum.⁶⁷ Thus, in the first century AD, in Roman thought the Dacians did not exist simply to the north of the Danube, and those who were identified as Daci were actively involved in the Roman army, rather than being conquered enemies.

⁶⁵ Destchew (1957) p.128.

⁶⁶ Roxan and Holder (2003) p.393.

⁶⁷ CIL 16, 13: *Imp(eratore) Caesare / Vespasiano Aug(usto) III M(arco) Cocceio Ner/va co(n)s(ulibus) Tutio Buti f(ilius) Dacus ...*

This classification of people from Moesia as Dacian reflects activities of Roman officials in the region. As mentioned in Chapter 1, in AD 62-63 Tiberius Plautius Silvanus, governor of Moesia and a relative of Claudius' former wife, Plautia Urgulanilla, waged war along the Danube and Black Sea as a result of movements by the Aorsi, Alani and Iazyges tribes in the area.⁶⁸ His tombstone survives and records his career.

Ti(berio) Plautio M(arci) f(ilio) Ani(ensi) / Silvano Aeliano / pontif(ici) sodali Aug(ustali) / Illvir(o) a(ere) a(rgento) a(uro) f(lando) f(eriundo) q(uaestori) Ti(beri) Caesaris / leg(ato) leg(ionis) V in Germania / pr(aetori) urb(ano) legat(o) et comiti Claud(i) / Caesaris in Brit{t}annia consuli / proco(n)s(uli) Asiae legat(o) pro praet(ore) Moesiae / in qua plura quam centum mil{l}(ia) / ex numero Transdanuvianor(um) / ad praestanda tributa cum coniugib(us) / ac liberis et principibus aut regibus suis / transduxit ...

To Tiberius Plautius Silvanus Aelianus, son of Marcus, of the Aniensis voting tribe, pontifex, *sodalis Augustalis*, triumvir in charge of minting coins, quaestor of Tiberius Caesar, legate of the fifth legion in Germania, urban praetor, legate and *comes* of Claudius Caesar in Britainnia, proconsul of Asia, propraetorian legate of Moesia in which he led more than 100 000 in number of the Transdanubian people to pay tribute, with their wives and children and chiefs or kings... - *ILS*, 986.

Therefore, migration to other parts of the Empire could take place as a result of service in the Roman army or also because of officials. The verb used is *transduxit* which implies some sort of barrier was crossed, and the people being led are described as 'Transdanubian'. It seems probably that Tiberius Plautius Silvanus therefore led people of the region across the Danube and forced them to pay tribute. This forced movement goes some way to explaining the number of 'Daci' in Moesia in the years after Tiberius Plautius Silvanus' time here and it also demonstrates that the Roman state differentiated between individuals' location and their origin. Seemingly, their origin is what marked out their ethnicity, not their location within the Empire.

⁶⁸ Conole and Milns (1983) pp.187-191. Plautius Silvanus' tombstone records his career in the region and how he led 100 000 people across the Danube and forced them to pay taxes. He also fought the Sarmatians and returned the nephews of the kings of the Rhoxolani and Bastarnae to them.

The province of Dacia was created by Trajan following the completion of his campaign in AD 106. It was given an ethnic name, based upon the people who were defeated in the region prior to its formation.⁶⁹ The Roman state now had the power officially to identify the Dacian people. Trajan's Column above shows that the Danube first needed to be crossed in order to reach them, and literature following this event would seem to imply that the people to the north of the Danube only were Dacian. However, military diplomas give a different impression, with *Dacus* appearing on several diplomas for individuals who could not have come from this newly created province and who must already have been serving in the Roman army prior to AD 106. As was common practice for a newly conquered region, the inhabitants north of the Danube were forced to serve in the Roman army as auxiliaries. However, it was also claimed that Trajan had many native inhabitants of the region killed⁷⁰ and Cassius Dio recorded that many were killed in triumphal celebrations in Rome.⁷¹ From the time of Hadrian onwards diplomas were granted to *cohortes Dacorum* following their subjugation by Trajan.⁷² However, individual Dacians continued to serve in units with other ethnic names. Individuals who identified as *Dacus* have even been found in *Cohors XV voluntariorum civium Romanorum*⁷³ in the reign of Antoninus Pius. While the diplomas recording *cohortes Dacorum* may be fragmentary, there are still a number of documents which show the soldiers being identified as Dacian in other units. For example, a diploma from the reign of Hadrian, dated to AD 121 grants citizenship to an individual with the ethnicon *Dacus*. What is clear from this diploma is that

⁶⁹ However, Isaac (2018) pp.320-326 demonstrated how 'Judaea' changed from an ethnic name to a geographic region over time, and that it was recognised that not everyone who lived in Judaea was Jewish under Roman rule.

⁷⁰ Haynes and Hanson (2004) p.22.

⁷¹ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 68.15.

⁷² Haynes and Hanson (2004) p.22 n.51 recorded that the *ala I Ulpia Dacorum* stationed in Cappadocia and the *cohortes I Ulpia Dacorum* in Syria were the only units raised under Trajan. Many other *cohortes Dacorum* were raised under Hadrian or Marcus Aurelius, or date to before Trajan's conquest made up of men from outside Decebalus' kingdom.

⁷³ *RMD* 5, 408 where an individual named Githioxi was discharged. Dana (2003) p.178 listed a similarly named Geithozi *Dacus* in Egypt.

the citizenship was not only granted to the soldier and his wife: it was also granted to his mother, brothers, and sister, all of whom were originally named on the diploma.

*legato pra[ef]/[ecto Albucio C]andido quorum no/[mina subs]cripta sunt ante
eme/[rita stipe]ndia civitatem Ro/[manam de]dit cum parentibus / [et fratri]bus et
sororibus // [// cum par]entibus et fratribus / [et sororibus N]on(is) Apr(ilibus) /
[M(arco) Herennio] Fausto / [Q(uito) Pomponi]o Marcello co(n)s(ulibus) / [---]nae
[f.] Daco / [---] matri eius / [---] fratri eius / [---] fratri eius / [---] fratri eius / [---]
sorori eius / [descriptum et r]ecognitum ex tabula ae/[nea quae fixa e]/st Romae in
muro post / [templum divi Aug(usti)] ad Minerva...*

Under the praetorian legate Albucius Candidus, whose names are written below, he gave Roman citizenship to those who completed their service with their parents and brothers and sisters... // with their parents and brothers and sisters on the Nones of April, Marcus Herennius Faustu and Quintus Pomponius Marcellus being consuls... - son of ...-na, a Dacian, ... his mother, ... his brother, ... his brother, ... his brother, ... his sister, described and recognised on the bronze tablet which is fixed in Rome on the wall by the temple of divine Augustus next to Minerva... - *RMD* 5, 357.

This extraordinary formula⁷⁴ has led to arguments that instead of being granted citizenship upon completion of his twenty five years of service, this Dacus was possibly transferred from auxiliary unit to the legion, and so he and his family were first granted Roman citizenship so that he would be of equal status with his new legionary counterparts.⁷⁵ Werner Eck has posited that he may have been moved into the region in AD 106 from elsewhere, and have been used to form Trajan's new military units.⁷⁶ However, the diploma is extremely fragmentary and so it is not clear what his name was, making it hard to attempt to identify whether he was a Dacian from the centrally-identified province of Dacia, or from a tribe to the south of the Danube. It is known that his father's name ended in -na, which was more common to the south of the Danube.⁷⁷ It is possible that the creation of the province of Dacia, with more clearly defined boundaries created some

⁷⁴ A similar formula with the repetition of 'eius' can be seen in a fragmentary diploma, *RMD* 1, 19, which Eck (2003) p.363 attributed to the same year.

⁷⁵ Phang (2001) p.85 commented that Roman citizens were joining the auxiliary units and provincials were joining the legions in the second century AD.

⁷⁶ Eck and Pangerl (2003) pp.352-353.

⁷⁷ Eck and Pangerl (2003) p.353.

confusion. Was it the case that only some Daci were the defeated enemies of Rome, whilst others were the state's allies?

Another diploma dated to December AD 127⁷⁸ uses the names of the soldier's children to identify him as Dacian.

[Imp(erator) Caes(ar) divi Traiani Parth(ici) f(ilius) d]ivi Nerv/[ae nepos Traianus Hadrianus Au]g(ustus) pont(ifex) ma/[xim(us) trib(unicia) pot(estate) XI co(n)s(ul) III] / [equ(itibus) et ped(itibus) qui mil(itaverunt) in al(is) II et coh(ortibus) IX] quae app(ellantur) I / [Pann(oniorum) et I Fl(avia?) et I Syror(um) sag(ittariorum?) et I Chalc(idenorum) et I Fl(avia) Afr(orum) et I Fla/[via et II Fl(avia) Afr(orum?) et II His(panorum?) et II Ham(iorum?) et VI] Comm(agenorum) / [et VII Lusit(anorum) et sunt in Africa sub Fabio Catullino //]

/ e[x 3] / Flavio Steri[ssae(?) f(ilio) Daco] / et Nattopori f(ilio) [eius et 3] / et Duccidiva[e fil(iae) eius] / descript(um) et recognit(um) [ex tabula aenea quae fixa est] / Romae in muro pos[t templum divi Aug(usti) ad Minervam]

Imperator Caesar Trajan Hadrian Augustus, son of the divine Trajan *Parthicus*, grandson of the divine Nerva, *pontifex Maximus*, holding tribunician power for the eleventh time, consul for the third time, to the cavalrymen and footsoldiers who served in the second *ala* and ninth cohort which are named the first Pannonian cohort and the first Flavian cohort and first Syrian cohort of archers and the first Chalcidenian cohort and the first and second Flavian African cohort and the second Hispanian cohort and the second Hamian cohort and the sixth Commagenian cohort and the seventh Lusitanian cohort and those in Africa under Fabius Catullinus.//

/ from... Flavius, son of Serissa, a Dacian, and son of Nattoporus his son and Daccidiva his daughter, described and recognised from the bronze tablet which was fixed in Rome on the wall outside the temple of *divus* Augustus next to Minerva... - RMD 5, 368.

The date has been reconstructed based upon the names of the consuls found on a second copy of the diploma which contains Hadrian's consular date.⁷⁹ This means that the soldier, named Flavius, had begun his service in AD 102. This was the end of Trajan's first Dacian War and so it is a possibility that this individual was forced into service following the

⁷⁸ Holder (2006) p.769.

⁷⁹ Eck and Pangerl, (2005) pp.243-248.

Roman victory at this point. The name of the soldier's cohort does not survive. The name of his parent is semi-preserved as Steri-; a similar inscription can be found in Rome where the deceased is identified as Dacus.

Dis Manibus / Diuppaneus qui [et] / Euprepes Sterissae f(ilius) / Dacus v(ixit) a(nnos) XVIII / opt<i=V>mus sanctissimus / pientissimus fidelissimus / sub hoc titulo situs est / P(ublius) Atilius Philetus / karissimo suo b(ene) m(erenti) fecit.

To the departed spirits. Diuppaneus, who is also *Euprepes*, son of Sterissa, a Dacian, lived eighteen years, the best and most holy and most pious and most loyal, under this sign is his grave. Publius Atilius Philetus set this up to his most dear one, well deserving. - *CIL* 6, 16903.

Thus, it seems possible that Sterissa was a name from the Danube region.⁸⁰ Holder has also suggested the reconstruction of Sterius.⁸¹ While the *Dacus* does not survive in the above diploma, the names of his children hint to this being his ethnicon. Unlike many other diplomas mentioning Dacians, this one preserves the name of the soldier's children, his son, Nattoparus and his daughter, Duccidiva.⁸² Detschew has recorded a variation of the son's name, Natoparus, as being of Thracian origin,⁸³ and records -doci- and -dava- seen in the daughter's name as being typical elements in Thracian/Dacian onomastics.⁸⁴ Therefore, even though the individual soldier's name is Flavius, those of his family still retain Dacian elements. This diploma shows that the Roman state identified Flavius as a Dacian, but his name shows some form of interaction with the rest of the world. In contrast, his children's names could show a desire to hold onto his original identity, despite interaction with the Roman state, and other cultures in the cosmopolitan auxiliary units.

Another diploma from the time of Hadrian records the granting of citizenship to a foot soldier called Itaxa (Fig.47).

⁸⁰ Detschew (1957) p.479.

⁸¹ Holder (2006) p.769.

⁸² Holder (2006) p.769.

⁸³ Detschew (1957) p.145.

⁸⁴ Detschew (1957) p.121.

[Imp(erator) Caesar di]vi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae / [nepos Traian]us Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pont(ifex) max(imus) trib(unicia) / [pot(estate)] XI co(n)s(ul) III / [eq(uitibus) et ped(itibus) qu(i)] mil(itaverunt) in al(is) VIII et coh(ortibus) XXVII qu(ae) app(ellantur) Aug(usta) / Gall(or)um Pro(culeiana) et A]ug(usta) Voc(ontiorum) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Pan(noniorum) Sab(iniana) et Gall(or)um Seb(osiana) et / [3 II] Ast(urum) et Gall(or)um Petr(iana) [(militaria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Hisp(anorum) Ast(urum) / [3 I Ner(via) Ge]rm(anorum) [(milliaria) et I Celt(iberorum) et I Thr(acum) et I Hispanorum) et I / [3] et I Sunu(corum) [e]t I Ham(iorum) sag(ittaria) e[t I Aq(uitanorum) et 3 et I Fris(iavonum?) et I] / Tung(rorum) [(milliaria) et I Ael(ia) D[ac(or)um] [(milliaria) et II Gall(or)um) et II Pann(oniorum)] / et II Ast(urum) et (II) D<a=E>lm(atarum) et (II) Ner(viorum) [et II Lin(gonum)] et III Ling(onum) et III / Brac(ar)aug(ustanorum) et III Gall(or)um) et I[III Lin(gonum) et I]III Bre(ucorum) et V / Gall(or)um) et VI Nerv(iorum) et VII Thr(acum) [et sunt i]n Brit{t}an(nia) / sub Trebio Germano quin(is) [et vican(is) pl]uri[b(us)ve stip(endiiis)] / emer(itis) dimiss(is) hon(esta) miss(ione) quor(um) nomina sub]/script(a) sunt ipsis liber(is) posteris[que eorum] / civitat(em) dedit et conub(ium) cum uxori(b(us) q(uas tunc) hab(uissent) cum est civit(as) ii]s data aut si qui caelib(es) [es]/sent cum iis quas postea duxiss(ent) dumtax(at) sin/guli singuls a(n)te d(iem) XIII K(alendas) Sept(embres) / Q(uinto) Tineio Rufo / M(arco) Licinio Celere Nepote co(n)s(ulibus) / coh(ortis) II Lingon(um) cui prae(e)st / C(aius) Hedius Verus Pitino Merg(ente) / ex pedit(e) / **Itaxae Stamillae f(ilio) Daco** / descript(um) et recognit(um) ex tabula aenea quae fi/xa est Romae in muro post templ(um) divi Aug(usti) / ad Minervam – RMD 4, 240.

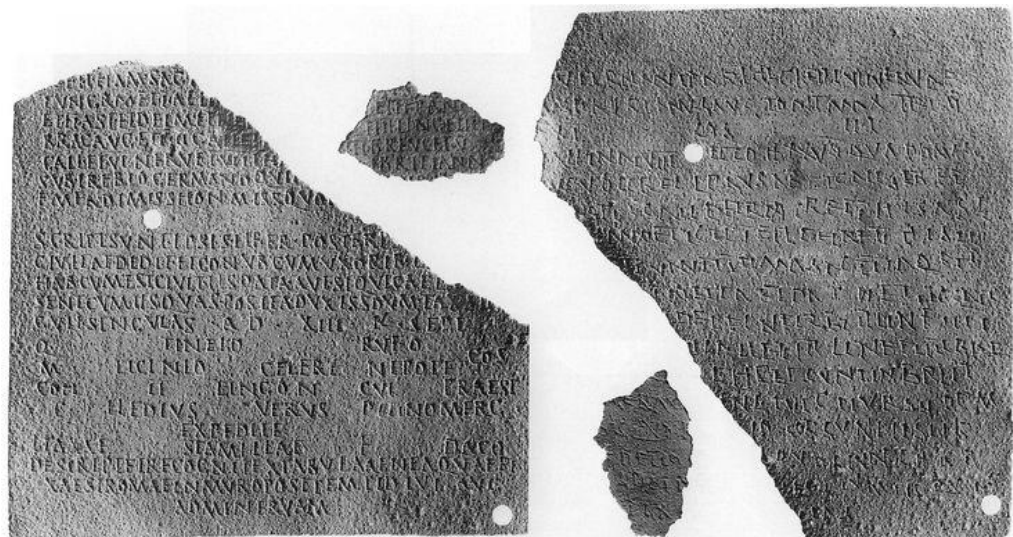


Figure 47. RMD 4, 240. Image from [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$AE_1997_01779.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AE_1997_01779.jpg).

This diploma dates to 27th August AD 127, which should indicate that the cohort of Dacians named here was set up in AD 102. However, it bears the name *Aelia*, implying that the unit

was set up under Hadrian. This diploma was supposedly found in Bulgaria.⁸⁵ The diploma lists units who served in Britannia and the soldier being discharged, Itaxa, served in the *Cohors II Lingonum*. His name is given as Itaxa, son of Stamilla and his ethnicon is Dacus. The Lingones were a Gallic tribe so this individual's identification as 'Dacian' again shows that ethnic units were not kept distinct within the Roman army. However, there are then questions as to what is meant here by 'Dacus.' Neither Itaxa nor Stamilla appear in Kerényi's list of Dacian names. Instead, J. Nollé has identified Itaxa as an Alani, Sarmatian name which appeared in Moesia Inferior in the second century AD.⁸⁶ Detschew mentions a variation of this name, Ithazis as being Thracian.⁸⁷ Nollé has suggested that this occurrence of Dacus may show that the inhabitants of Moesia to the south of the Danube may once again have been identified as Daci by the Roman state.⁸⁸ If Nollé's identification of the soldier's origin based on his name is correct, then this diploma is further evidence that while Roman provinces may have borne ethnic names, their territory did not contain all people of that ethnicity: people were identified as Dacian outside of the territory which had been termed 'Dacia' by the Roman officials at the centre of the empire. Furthermore, once again, despite the Roman army having fought and conquered the Dacians, and despite ongoing rebellions from the 'free' Dacians under Hadrian, soldiers serving in the Roman army were still identified in this way. To be Dacian was not simply to be a conquered enemy of Rome displayed in Trajan's Forum.

While regional recruitment did occur, and ethnic exceptionalism seemingly did not occur in the Roman Army,⁸⁹ military diplomas from the time of Hadrian do illustrate that Daci could serve in the *Cohortes Dacorum*. It was common practice to form auxiliary units out of newly conquered provinces and the Dacians were formally organised as auxiliary

⁸⁵ Roxan and Holder (2003) p.472.

⁸⁶ Nollé (1997) p.274.

⁸⁷ Detschew (1957) p.215.

⁸⁸ Nollé (1997) p.274.

⁸⁹ Haynes (2013) pp.289-292.

cohorts and *alae* under Trajan. Many of them were sent to Syria and while regional recruitment would happen after a unit had been in a region for some time, the first recruits must have come from the newly conquered province. Werner Eck and A. Pangerl estimated that about four hundred to five hundred Dacians originally served in Trajan's first Dacian cohort.⁹⁰ A number of fragmentary diplomas for soldiers who served in Syria mention the *I Ulpia Dacorum*, showing that it was Trajan who created this unit. Several different diplomas have been found in fragmentary form and so the majority of the text can be recreated.⁹¹

*[I]mp(erator) Caesar divi Traiani Parthici f(ilius) divi Nervae / nepos Traianus Hadrianus Aug(ustus) pontif(ex) max(imus) / trib(unicia) potest(ate) XIII co(n)s(ul) III p(ater) p(atriciae) / [e]quitib(us) [et] peditib(us) qui militaver(unt) in alis [II e]t coh(ortibus) XI / quae ap[ell]antur Aug(usta) Xoitan(a) et I Flav(ia) Ag[ri]ppian(a) / [et] I Ascalonitanor(um) sagitt(aria) et **I Ulp(ia) Dacor(um)** et I Ulp(ia) sa/[gi]tt(aria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et I Ulp(ia) Petreor(um) sagitt(aria) et II Classica et II Ge/[mi]na Ligur(um) et Corso[r(um)] e]t II Ulp(ia) equit(um) sagitt(aria) c(ivium) R(omanorum) et II / [It]alica c(ivium) R(omanorum) et III Thra[c(um)] Syriaca sagitt(aria) et IIII Callaecor(um) / [Lu]censium et V Ulp(ia) [Pet]reor(um) sagitt(aria) et sunt in Syri[a] sub Poblicio Mar[c]jello quin(is) et vicens plurib/[us] stipendi(i)s emeritis dimissis honesta missio/[n]e quorum nomina subscripta sunt ip(s)is libe/ris posterisque eorum civitatem dedit et co/[nub]ium cum uxoribus quas tunc habuissent / [cu]m est civitas iis data aut si qui caelibes essent / [cum] iis quas postea duxissent dumtaxat singuli / [sin]gulas a(n)te d(iem) XI K(alendas) Apr(iles) / [P(ublio) Iuve]ntio Celso II Q(uinto) Iulio Balbo co(n)s(ulibus) / [**coh(ortis) I] Ulp(iae) Dacor(um)** cu[i] p[rae]e]st / [Ti(berius) Clau]dius Ti(beri) f(ilius) Qui(rina) Maximinus Neapol(i) / ex peditib(us) / [**M(arco) Ulp]io Damusi f(ilio) Canuleio Daco** / [descript]um et recognitum ex tab(u)la aenea / [quae fix]a est Roma<e=B> in muro post templum / [divi Aug(usti) ad Miner]vam // - AE 2006, 1845.*

This diploma can be dated to 22nd March AD 129, based on Hadrian's titles and the *ante diem XI Kalendas Apriles*. This would mean that the Dacian auxiliary unit was created in AD 103/4, after the conclusion of Trajan's first Dacian war. Thus, while questions of regional recruitment make it impossible to argue for later times that soldiers in auxiliary units had a similar ethnicity to the name of their units, in this case, it is highly probable that the *Cohors*

⁹⁰ Eck and Pangerl (2006) p.227.

⁹¹ Eck and Pangerl (2006) pp.221-230.

I Ulpia Dacorum was actually formed of soldiers from the Dacian tribes.⁹² The foot soldier discharged with this diploma is one Marcus Ulpus Canuleius, son of Damusius, and he is identified as Dacus. Constantin Petolescu has also posited that Canuleius' father, Damusius, was a member of pre-Roman Dacian nobility who had become a friend of Rome.⁹³ However, no evidence for this was provided.

Three other diplomas granted at this time concern veterans from the same Dacian cohort.⁹⁴ The name M. Ulpus is preserved in one,⁹⁵ allowing the *praenomen* and *nomen* to be recreated on the above diploma, but the *cognomina* and any *agnomina* are lost on all three other documents. However, the full name of the soldier is known in the above diploma. His nomenclature would imply that he had already been granted Roman citizenship by Trajan, possibly as a reward for his military service.⁹⁶ The *tria nomina* can serve to hide any foreign origins, and it is telling that this individual chose Canuleius as his *cognomen*, which is an old and common name in Rome but rarely appears outside Italy.⁹⁷ Clearly this individual was emphasising his connections to the Roman state. However, despite this, his origin is still given as Dacus.

Evidently, despite the many routes to Roman citizenship available to the peregrines of the world, the Roman state was concerned with recording people's origins. Yet this diploma shows that individuals could be both Roman and Dacian. Some fifteen to twenty years after the erection of Trajan's Column and Forum in which the Dacians were depicted as perpetually defeated,⁹⁸ and the ethnic identifier of the lupine standard known in Rome

⁹² Haynes and Hanson (2004) p.22, n.51.

⁹³ Petolescu (2006) p.376.

⁹⁴ *AE* 2006, 1849, 1850, 1851.

⁹⁵ *AE* 2006, 1849.

⁹⁶ Cooley and Salway (2012) p.223.

⁹⁷ Cicero, *De Re Publica*, 2.63 and Livy, *Ad Urbe Condita*, 4.1ff record the Canuleian Law which allowed patricians to marry plebs in 445 BC. For appearances outside Rome: *CIL* 3, 633, on a religious membership list in Macedonia; *CIL* 3, 6139 on a tombstone of a Roman citizen in Moesia; *CIL* 13, 7082 on a child's tombstone in Germania Superior; *AE* 2006, 652 on a tombstone in Baetica.

⁹⁸ Edwards (2003) pp.67ff.

was still being depicted in captured arms, some Dacians were being integrated into Roman society, or at least attempting to. A very dissimilar image of the wolf-warrior enemies of Rome emerges from different types of evidence at various places in the Roman Empire.

4.3: Dacians in a Civilian Context

Military diplomas can give us information about the recruitment of people who were identified as Dacians into the Roman army; however, they are exceedingly formulaic and often fragmentary. Another way to identify individuals from either the Dacian peoples or province is through tombstones. The 'official' presentation of Dacians in Roman artwork was very different from private. Valerie Hope has demonstrated that when it came to soldiers, it was not down to the state or the army to provide them with graves: public emphasis was instead placed upon remembering the military victory of the emperor.⁹⁹ Tombstones can tell us much about individuals' identity, both their origins and how they wished to be perceived. Roughly forty stones throughout the Roman Empire record that the deceased was Dacian. However, none of these exists in Dacia itself.¹⁰⁰ Such ethnic identifiers were only used when an individual was removed from his homeland or people. However, local trends within the cemetery could also greatly affect how an individual was portrayed.

Over forty tombstones and a number of dedications have been found marking people out as 'from the Dacian nation' from the first to fourth centuries AD. These tombstones highlight this dichotomy between one's own identity and one's identity as perceived by an outsider. These have been found in Pannonia,¹⁰¹ Britannia,¹⁰²

⁹⁹ Hope (2003) pp.79-97.

¹⁰⁰ Haynes and Hanson (2004) p.22 noted that the indigenous population of Dacia is invisible in the epigraphic record following Trajan's conquest.

¹⁰¹ *IDRE* 2, 257.

¹⁰² *RIB* 1, 2046:] / lul(ius) Pi[3]/tinus civ/<i=E>s Dacus.

Mauretania,¹⁰³ Germania,¹⁰⁴ Noricum¹⁰⁵ and Egypt,¹⁰⁶ as well as a number from Rome.¹⁰⁷ An individual from Mauretania Caesaria, Fortunatus, was highlighted as being Dacian:

D(is) M(anibus) s(acrum) / Fortunatus / qui et Dacus / vix(it) a(nnos) XXII m(enses) X d(ies) XX / h(ic) o(ssa) b(ene) q(uiescant)

Sacred to the departed spirits, Fortunatus, also known as Dacus, lived twenty-two years, ten months, twenty days. May his bones rest here. - *CIL* 8, 8562.

This stone from the city of Setifis, where a colony was set up under Nerva from retired soldiers, can be dated very roughly to AD 97 – AD 299. Despite living in a colony, there is no evidence that he was a citizen of Rome, but neither is there evidence that he was seen as a conquered enemy. What is emphasised is his position as ‘Dacian.’ The fact that this individual is called Dacus following a *qui et*, which traditionally precedes a nickname, is interesting. This can also be seen in the tombstone of the son of Sterissa in Rome mentioned above: *Diuppaneus qui [et] / Euprepes Sterissae f(ilius) / Dacus...*¹⁰⁸ Here, the Dacian’s nickname is Euprepes. In Greek, this means ‘good looking.’ As well as showing code-switching,¹⁰⁹ it demonstrates the frivolous nature of nicknames. It is therefore odd that the above individual’s nickname should be Dacus. It is unknown what characteristics he displayed which earned him this nickname. However, it does demonstrate that certain elements or mannerisms could have been attributed to the Dacian people by the

¹⁰³ *CIL* 8, 8562.

¹⁰⁴ *CIL* 13, 6238: *M(anibus) d(is) / Val(erius) Maxantius / eq(ues) ex numer(o) / kata(fractariorum) vix(it) an(n)is / XXXII me(n)s(ibus) VI / Val(erius) Dacus fr(ater?) / fec(it).*

¹⁰⁵ *AE* 1969/70, 451: *Dacus Cop(poni) / Luciani ser(vus) / sibi et Matron(ae) coniugi / ob(itae) annor(um) / XXXX et suis / viv(u)s.*

¹⁰⁶ *AE* 1996, 1647 is a votive rather than a tombstone: *Dida Damanai filius nationis Da(c)=Q(us) / eques alae Vocontiorum turma Maturi / armatum(!) feci stationi(!) me(n)ses quinque / pro salute(m) Imperatore(!) feliciter.*

¹⁰⁷ *AE* 2014, 447: *D(is) M(anibus) / Aurel(io) Vi(c)=E(=)tori eq(uiti) sing(ulari) tur(ma) / Constantini nat(ione) Dacus / a(d)lect(us) ex ala I Illy(ricor(um)) vix(it) an(nos) XXXIII Ulp(ius) / Macedo et Ulp(ius) Maternus / dupl(icarii) hered(es) b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)cerunt.* From the third century AD, more Daci appear to have served in the Praetorian Guard e.g. *CIL* 6, 2495: *Iul(ius) Secundinus ev(o)=K(=)atus / coh(ortis) III pr(aetoriae) salarior(um) / XXVII qui vix(it) an(nos) LXXXV / nat(ione) Dacus Atticia Sa(b)ina co(n)iu(x) et Iul(ius) / Co(n)sta(n)s filius et / her(ed)es b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)c(er)unt(?).* *CIL* 6, 2696: *D(is) M(anibus) Aur(elius) Domitianu(s) mil(es) c(o)hor(tis) VIII pr(ae)t(oriae) |(centuria) Fes(ti) vix(it) an(nos) XXXX mil(itavit) an(nos) / XVII nat(ione) Dacus Maxi(mus) Marinianus / et Iulia Sisi dole(n)s / b(ene) m(erenti) f(e)cerunt.*

¹⁰⁸ *CIL*, 6, 16903.

¹⁰⁹ Adams (2003) pp.297-305, 409-410 for code-switching in funerary inscriptions.

inhabitants of this community, marking them out as separate and 'other.' To be Dacian did not only mean that one came from the Danubian region.

A stone from Pannonia shows that another Dacus was a slave (Fig.48).

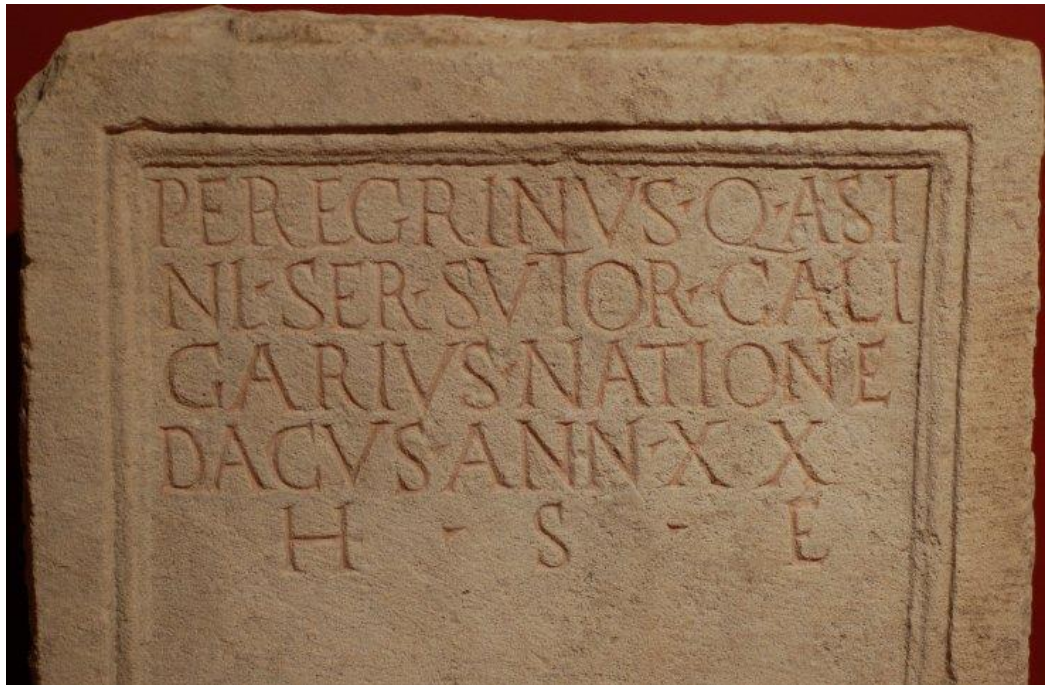


Figure 48. Tombstone of Peregrinus from Carnuntum in Pannonia Superior. IDRE 2, 257. Image from [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$AP_Hild_00221.jpg;\\$b.jpg](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$AP_Hild_00221.jpg;$b.jpg).

Peregrinus Q(uinti) Asi/ni ser(vus) sutor cali/garius natione / Dacus ann(or)um XX / h(ic) s(itus) e(st)

Peregrinus, slave of Quintus Asinus, a shoemaker of caligae, from the Dacian nation, [lived] twenty years. This is his tomb. - IDRE 2, 257.

The stone dates to the second half of the first century AD. What is striking about this individual is his name: Peregrinus. This was presumably given to him by his new master when he became a slave. The fact that the stone records that he originally came from the Dacian nation shows that he was being marked out as foreign, or 'other', from the rest of the people of his new community, in the same way which his social standing as a slave does. The tombstone also states that Peregrinus' role was to make *caligae*. It is known that Carnuntum was the site of a legionary fortress, and then the location of the Pannonian fleet from AD 50 onwards, so a military connection and interaction is evident. Peregrinus

was not the only Dacian to have been made a slave. A stone from Elsbethen in Noricum also records Dacus as a slave's name.

Dacus Cop(poni) / Luciani ser(vus) / sibi et Matron/ae coniugi / ob(itae) annor(um) / XXXX et suis / viv(u)s

Dacus, slave of Copponus Lucianus, whilst alive set this up for himself and Matrona, his wife, who died after 40 years, and their children. - *IDRE* 2, 245.

It is thought that Copponus Lucianus, the master of the individual who set up this stone, was the owner of a Roman estate found in Elsbethen, 5km from Salzburg, in 1942.¹¹⁰ These communities were clearly keen to show that the Dacian *natio* was a distinctive unit, separate from the rest of the community. It is not clear if they had an idea of where the Daci came from geographically; instead, their names, Peregrinus and Dacus, emphasise that the Dacian nation was seen as separate. This individual may also have been given his name on account of a physical characteristic or mannerism, as with Fortunatus above, rather than on account of his origins. Furthermore, this was not the only way in which these two individuals were marked out as 'other': their servile status also did this. Thus, integration into a new community did not automatically mean that individuals would be accepted as equals.

A slightly different image emerges from the tombstone of one Scorilo set up in Pannonia.

Scorilo Ressati libertus / domo Dacus an(norum) IXXXX(!) h(ic) s(itus) e(st) / item Annamae coniugi viv(ae) / et Mattoni filiae vivae / t(itulum) p(osuerunt) Quintus et Anculata fili(i) / patri pientissimo b(ene) m(erenti)

Scorilo, a freedman of Ressatus from the Dacian homeland, lived 39(!) years. This is his tomb. His children Quintus and Anculata also set up this inscription for his living wife, Annama and his living daughter, Matto, to their most pious father, well deserving. - *CIL* 3, 13379.

¹¹⁰ *AE* 1969/70, 451.

This tombstone, dating roughly to AD 80-120, was found in Hungary in 1893 and is now in Aquincum Museum, Budapest (Fig.49). The limestone monument follows a fairly standard pattern for tombstones from this region: it is a large stela which features three relief busts at the top of the stone, a scene of daily life below and then the inscription.¹¹¹



Figure 49. Tombstone of Scorilo, a Dacian, from Aquincum, Pannonia. Image from http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=lu_2838.

¹¹¹ Boatwright (2005) pp.287-318.

The deceased is Scorilo. Unlike the previous two stones, Scorilo did not die a slave. He was a freedman whose sons set up a tomb for him and his still living wife and daughter. Scorilo is traditionally a Thracian name, but here in the province of Pannonia, the freedman was identified as Dacus. Another Scorilo was mentioned by Frontinus, writing in the late first/early second century AD, as being a Dacian king,¹¹² and a cup bearing the inscription *DECEBALUS PER SCORILLO* was found in Dacia,¹¹³ so evidently this name was common amongst the Daci. The two busts on the left are evidently the deceased wife and daughter: Annama and Matto. The woman on the left wears a cloak, a Norican bonnet which is traditionally seen on tombs in the area, a winged *fibula* and a torque, whilst the woman in the middle wears a similar headpiece. Both styles would seem to be local, as was common in Noricum Pannonia as seen in several tombstones now in Budapest Museum (Fig.50a-b):



¹¹² Frontinus, *Strategemata*, 1.

¹¹³ *AE*, 1995, 1301.

Figures 50a-b. Two limestone stelae from Pannonia, Budapest National Museum. Like the tomb of Scorilo, and many others in the region, they feature a nuclear family, scenes with carts, and the text below the images. Photographs Joanna Kemp.

While the father in such portraits was typically depicted in a toga, Scorilo himself wears a *paenula* instead. The likely explanation for this is that he was not a Roman citizen. It is thought that traditionally tombstones in Pannonia emphasised the family¹¹⁴ and this stone seems to be no different. The scene below the busts depicts a man caring for horses, with another riding in a wagon. These could be Scorilo's other sons who set up the monument. The epithet and the images emphasise the 'nuclear family', which Shaw and Saller argued was an idea gained from Rome.¹¹⁵ However, here, although the design of the tomb is one which can be seen throughout much of the Roman world, there is no claim made to a Roman identity. The style and decoration of the tomb is entirely in keeping with others from the area and the only way in which the deceased's Dacian origins are marked out is via his name. Rather than there being an empire-wide way to express Dacian identity, this tomb shows that these individuals would interact with their local surroundings. Given his freedman status, he could have been trying to emphasise his integration into civic life and traditions. Jan Nederveen Pieterse, when highlighting the dangers of using 'globalisation' as a replacement for 'Romanisation' demonstrated that there were a number of multicultural exchanges between Rome and its provinces at any one time.¹¹⁶ What this stone shows is that although a Roman influence can be seen, Rome itself need not be involved in such exchanges at all times. This is a non-Roman citizen interacting with a provincial community on the periphery of the Empire. Dacus is still used to mark out the deceased's identity against a foreign backdrop, but this backdrop need not be Roman.

This can also be seen in a stone from Germania Superior (Fig.51).

¹¹⁴ Boatwright (2005) p.287.

¹¹⁵ Saller and Shaw (1984) p.136.

¹¹⁶ Nederveen Pieterse (2015) pp.232-235.

*M(anibus) d(is) / Val(erius) Maxantius / eq(ues) ex numer<o=l> / kata(fractariorum)
vix(it) an(n)is / XXXII me(n)s(ibus) VI / Val(erius) Dacus fr(ater?) / fec(it)*

To the departed spirits, Valerius Maxantius, a cavalryman from the *numerus* of cavalry-spearmen lived 32 years, 6 months. Valerius Dacus, his brother, set this up.
- CIL 13, 6328.



Figure 51. Tombstone of Valerius Maxantius from Borbetomagus, Germania Superior. Image from [http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=\\$TR_CIL_13_06238_1.jpg;PH0000401;lu_16784&nr=3](http://db.edcs.eu/epigr/bilder.php?bild=$TR_CIL_13_06238_1.jpg;PH0000401;lu_16784&nr=3).

In this tomb, it is the deceased's brother who identifies as Dacian.¹¹⁷ However, it was set up to his brother so it is logical to assume that the deceased was also a Dacus. Neither

¹¹⁷ Schleiermacher (1984) pp.145-146 dated this stone to the first half of the fourth century based on the use of the name Valerius.

individual is a Roman citizen and the deceased is depicted atop his horse holding his spear.¹¹⁸ Valerie Hope has demonstrated that on tombstones in Mainz, the presentation of auxiliary units and *numeri* was very different from that of their legionary counterparts, with auxiliary cavalrymen favouring the placement of rider imagery on their *stelae*.¹¹⁹ This was seemingly an attempt to portray themselves as heroes of Rome, defeating the barbarian enemy through the placement of rider imagery on their *stelae*, despite the text betraying their non-citizen status. Therefore, as with Scorilo's tomb, this stone is in keeping with other tombs from the region. Thus, once again, the Dacus sets the deceased and his brother apart from the surrounding population, but at the same time, they are interacting with local ideas and culture to create their own new identity, as part of a new group. Furthermore, the backwards *MD* at the top of the stone shows attempts to imitate Roman epigraphic formulae, or just formulae seen on other stones in the area. However, the attempt was evidently not very successful.

What is telling is that Dacus is never seen on any tombstones or inscriptions from Dacia itself. Thus, it would seem that this origin became a more important part of individuals' identity once they were removed from their home and placed in alien surroundings. This shows that one's identity depends upon one's surroundings: there was no need for the people of Dacia to identify as Dacus, but when migration took these people away from their kinsmen, their Dacian identity became a way to differentiate themselves from the crowd and became more poignant. There was no 'global' depiction of the Dacian people in their own minds. Nor was the defeated barbarian the only way to identify the Dacians following the claims of Augustus about their defeat, or their actual defeat at the hands of Trajan. As highlighted by Cassius Dio, people could be identified one way, yet

¹¹⁸ Schleiermacher (1984) pp.60-65 argued that despite similarities to the Thracian rider or Athenian relief of Dexileos from 394 BC, the influence for these reliefs which were common along the Rhine-Danube frontier, as well as in Britain, probably came from Rome and the west.

¹¹⁹ Hope (2000) pp.165-177.

identify themselves another.¹²⁰ However, interaction with their new environment did occur and, as can be seen on inscriptions from across the empire, these Daci were participating in the civic life of their new location, as well as adopting and adapting local funerary practices. Warfare and the Roman army may have been the context which defined the presentation of the Dacian people in Rome following their defeat, but it also allowed for the migration of the Daci to far off reaches of the empire, where they were able to establish their own identity by interacting with and reacting to their surroundings, rather than just accepting and perpetuating their given status as the conquered enemies of Rome. However, as demonstrated by the tombstones of slaves and freedmen, interaction with this new environment did not mean that Daci would be accepted as equals of the society. Furthermore, the fact that one of the slaves was given the name Dacus, and another individual was given this as a nickname, suggests that there may have been characteristics attributed to the Dacian people which these individuals displayed, beyond simply coming from the north of the Danube. While it cannot be said that all Dacians were seen as servile when they left Dacia, the stones do show that who and why an individual was marked out by a society as 'the Other' was not just dictated by one's geographical origin.

4.4: Conclusions

Everyday documents allowed the people of the Roman world to learn of, and express their contact with, their foreign neighbours. However, how the Dacians were presented in terms of their character, status and location, was determined by the aims of the creator, and the time and circumstance. The spread of *Bellum Dacicum* linked to honours won by successful soldiers would not have told audiences about the geographic location of this enemy. Instead, it would have sent messages about the strength of the soldier who had defeated them, and reinforced ideas seen in Rome under Augustus and

¹²⁰ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 51.22.6-7.

Trajan, that the Dacian people had been defeated. Yet from the time of Vespasian, individuals whom the Roman state identified as Daci were being admitted into the Roman army. The onomastics and the find spots of these diplomas support the idea that the Dacians at this time were not fixed to the north of the Danube, as claimed in Augustus' *Res Gestae* and later in Trajan's Column. Once the Roman state had the power to define where the Dacians were, depictions began to change. Daci moving around the Roman world show that there was no one universal depiction of these people. They could integrate into different societies at different levels, be that slave, freedman, soldier or Roman citizen. How they then chose to present themselves depended upon individual aims and experiences, as well as desires to both fit in with local surroundings and traditions, and to retain one's original identity. Yet, it also depended upon perceptions held about Dacians by the new community. Although the Roman Empire offered many routes to citizenship, this was not the only interaction or goal the newly conquered Daci could have. The variety of roles they performed across the Empire demonstrates that individuals' origin was not the only thing which determined how they would present themselves, or be perceived by their new communities.

Chapter 5: Diplomatic Friendships in the Roman Principate

It has been demonstrated that the presentation of foreign nations can be determined by a number of factors, including the context of the art, aims of its creator, and the type of contact which took place between Rome and foreign nations. While warfare was an obvious form of interaction and is seen in many representations of the peoples in the Danubian-Pontic region, this was, in fact, not the only way in which the Roman State, or inhabitants of the Roman world, came to deal with this region and its peoples. This chapter will, therefore, now turn to a different type of contact which was far less common on grand artworks under the Roman Principate. In modern thought, the opposite of warfare is diplomacy. This chapter explores how the language of friendship was used under the Roman Principate to frame relations with foreign rulers and *nationes* in the Danubian-Pontic regions. It examines the way in which the concentration of power in one man – the Roman emperor – led to a change in how *amicitia* relationships with foreign kings and nations were presented.¹ It will demonstrate that as Rome came to be ruled by one individual, the morals associated with friendship between two individuals became important when literary authors described Rome's dealings with its neighbours. However, examining other types of evidence shows that there was still room for interstate friendships. Yet, the Senate largely disappeared from these dialogues and instead, whole nations became friends of the emperor, or kings became friends of the Roman People.² Furthermore, not all relationships with the emperor were congenial, as the ideal friendships described by Cicero. There are instances when, although the language of

¹ Wilker (2008) pp.165-185 on how the personal relationships between foreign rulers and Roman emperors could affect Roman domestic matters, bring benefits to the kings but then also make them powerful enough for the Roman state to see them as a danger and annex their kingdoms. Heinen (2008a) pp.189-206 examined how priests of the emperor in the Bosporan kingdom often also held the title of *philorhomaioi* in inscriptions.

² Kemp (2018) pp.85-105.

amicitia was used, the mechanisms of the Roman state with its envoys³ and governors, show that being called a friend of the emperor was not a sure way to gain a personal audience with, or favour from, him.

A number of kings and dynasts along the edges of the Roman world bore the title *amicus sociusque populi Romani*, or *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos*. This may have been a formal title, either granted by Rome, or adopted by the kings to imply some kind of close relationship (See Chapter 6). However, as this chapter will demonstrate, that does not mean that kings with whom no such relationship had yet been established were ignored. Instead, if the surviving texts are examined, much evidence can be seen for the Roman state and emperor dealing with rulers and peoples in very similar ways, even if no such titles remain. The surviving historical texts show that the rules and morals of *amicitia*, and the exchanges and *gratia* supposedly associated with it, could be applied to rulers with whom no such title has been associated. Therefore, this chapter examines how the languages and practices of *amicitia* were used in literary texts and how this differed from reality. It will be demonstrated that diplomatic languages and practices were of equal importance to the strength of the Roman army when establishing order in a region. Furthermore, it argues that previous representations of, or contact with, a nation or ruler could greatly affect how future interactions took place.

As has been highlighted in Chapter 1 (See 1.4 for discussion), thought on the role of *amicitia* in Roman politics and foreign policy has developed much in the past century. Ernst Badian moved the conversation away from the language of *amicitia* having legal or party connotations,⁴ as had previously been argued by Lily Ross Taylor and Ronald Syme.⁵ David Braund then did much to progress the debate beyond Badian's popular notions of patronage and power-relations between Roman and foreign individuals, arguing instead

³ Kolb and Speidel (2016) pp.162-170 on the use of envoys, ambassadors and *amicitia* in trade deals.

⁴ Badian (1958).

⁵ Syme (1939) p.11; Taylor (1940) pp.7-9.

that these 'friendly' relations between Rome and the kings on the edges of the empire were broad-ranging, bringing a combination of economic, social, cultural and military advantages to both sides.⁶ In 2011 Paul Burton then explored the idea that institutionalised friendships existed and that the language of *amicitia* could be applied to Rome's diplomatic dealings with foreign nations.⁷ However, Paul Burton's work only dealt with the Middle Republic. Thus, there are questions of what happened to these friendships between nations once the Roman Principate was formed and Rome became ruled by one individual. A current trend in the study of Rome's diplomatic dealings is the use of International Relations Theories, namely that of Constructivism. As discussed in 1.4, Constructivism argues that a state's behaviour is shaped by the collective norms and social identities of the members of that state. In this framework, individuals rather than states are the key players. Co-operation between individuals and their respective communities is made possible on the basis of shared ideas and discourse, in comparison to ideas of power and self-interest.⁸ According to Constructivists such as Alexander Wendt, social conditions such as identity, ideology, discourse and culture should be considered as well as simply material conditions, such as military strength and resources, when a state tries to decide how 'secure' it is.⁹ Constructivism, therefore, deals with the interests, identities and behaviours of both states and individuals.¹⁰ Identity, and the perceived identity, of the players in international relations, are brought to the forefront when this framework is used. Therefore, this is a

⁶ Braund (1984).

⁷ Burton (2011); Verboven (2011) p.418 also stated that "*amicitia* was a central notion in the political discourse of international relations... Such formal *amicitiae* obviously lacked anything like real emotional content, but as ideological constructs, these friendships served a clear purpose. The title *amicus* carried with it – just as was the case in interpersonal relationships – the idea (and responsibilities) of equality and sovereignty, but also of goodwill, trust and solidarity. It implied that the moral obligations and sanctions of *amicitia* could be appealed to, and that assistance was owed beyond what might generally be stipulated in formal treaties."

⁸ Burton (2011) p.18.

⁹ Wendt (1999) p.92.

¹⁰ Burton (2011) p.22.

useful framework against which to explore the role of *amicitia* between individuals and the morals and practices associated with this within the realm of international diplomacy.

The Danubian-Pontic regions offer comparison between states who previously identified as *philorhomaioi* and were influenced by Hellenistic notions of kingship and kinship, namely the Bosphorus kingdom which continued to be on relatively good terms with Rome until the fourth century AD,¹¹ and states which were ruled by tribal chieftains, with a different set of values and cultural norms. This chapter will also use examples from elsewhere in the world. Roman historians tended to record wars rather than peace, and if friendly relations were successful, little was written about them. However, there is enough evidence in the form of inscriptions, coinage, and the writings of Roman officials from around the Black Sea region to show that the phenomenon of diplomatic *amicitia* was an empire-wide one and was very much present in the Danube and Black Sea regions. The following two chapters serve a dual purpose: this chapter will investigate the shift in the practice of *amicitia* that happened under the Principate and emphasise that personified states were replaced by real people as the key players. Often this took the form of the Roman emperor and a foreign king in the surviving texts and coinage evidence. However, this was not always the case and the possibility of relationships between an individual and a group of people, namely a city or a whole *natia*, remained a strong possibility. The kings and communities with whom Rome sought friendship or waged war often seem to be one and the same, especially in the regions to the north of the Danube and Black Sea, demonstrating that warfare and diplomacy, despite being considered opposites by modern audiences, were just different approaches to maintaining order throughout the Roman Principate. The next chapter examines epigraphic evidence from the Bosporan kingdom in order to explore the attitudes of friendly kings and their subjects towards Rome. They combine to demonstrate that although *amicitia*, *philia* or *hospitium* and the practices

¹¹ Millar (1996) p.164.

associated with them were universally understood, regional variation in the expression of these relationships did occur, and how they were presented depended upon past contacts and representations of 'the Other' as well.

5.1: *Amicitia* in the Late Republic

To understand the use of the language of *amicitia* in international relations, a comprehension of its use in everyday Roman life is needed. This has been researched by a number of scholars,¹² so will be considered briefly. Building upon Aristotle, Cicero wrote his *De Amicitia*, which took the form of a speech by Laelius on the death of his friend, Scipio, and *De Officiis* at the end of the Republic.¹³ The author wrote about ideal friendship, claiming that *est enim amicitia nihil aliud, nisi omnium divinarum humanarumque rerum cum benevolentia et caritate consensio* ("friendship is nothing other except agreement on all things human and divine with goodwill and affection"),¹⁴ rather than personal gain. Sallust, a contemporary of Cicero, also asserted that friendship was based on *consensio* - agreement or harmony: *nam idem velle atque idem nolle, ea demum firma amicitia est*. ("For the same wants and the same fears is precisely a strong friendship.")¹⁵ However, Sallust was writing about how Cataline sought allies for his cause, so was in fact corrupting the idea of Cicero's ideal *amicitia*.¹⁶

Using these texts Konrad Verboven outlined the ethics of Roman friendship.¹⁷ Goodwill (*benevolentia*) and love (*amor*) were essential according to Cicero who stated that *sublata enim benevolentia, amicitiae nomen tollitur, propinquitatis manet*. ("For when

¹² Brunt (1965) p.3 argued against Syme and Taylor's ideas that *amicitia* lacked congeniality, by pointing out that *amicitia* is derived from *amare*, to love. Verboven (2011) pp.405-411 on the characteristics of Roman *amicitia*.

¹³ These contained similar themes and sentiments to those expressed in Seneca's *De Beneficiis* from the Julio-Claudian period.

¹⁴ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 20.

¹⁵ Sallust, *Catalina*, 20.4.

¹⁶ Ramsey (2007) p.118 argued that Sallust used distinctions between *amicitia* and *factio* in his other work (*De Bello Iugurthino*, 31.14-15) in order to draw a comparison between good and bad men.

¹⁷ Verboven (2011) pp.405-411.

goodwill is removed, the name of *amicitia* is taken away, but a relationship remains").¹⁸

When this goodwill was put into action it became *benignitas* or *liberalitas* – generosity.

Cicero stated that *de tribus autem reliquis latissime patet ea ratio qua societas hominum*

inter ipsos et vitae quasi communitas continetur. Cuius partes duae: iustitia, in qua virtutis

splendor est maximus, ex qua viri boni nominatur, et huic coniuncta beneficentia, quam

eandem vel benignitatem vel liberalitatem appellari licet ("of the three remaining, the

[value] which stands open the widest is the one by which the society of man among

themselves and their lives are maintained, as if a society. Of this there are two parts:

justice, in which is the brilliant glory of virtue, from which good men are named, and joined

to this, goodwill, which may also be called kindness or generosity").¹⁹ This kindness or

generosity was expressed by voluntarily doing favours or giving gifts (*beneficia* or *munera*)

to friends.²⁰ For instance, Sallust in his *De Bello Iugurthino* described how the general's

innate generosity allowed him to gain the friendship of many Romans: *Huc adcedebat*

munificentia animi et ingeni sollertia, quis rebus sibi multos ex Romanis familiari amicitia

coniunxerat. ("To this, huge generosity of soul and a skill of constitution was added, by

which he had joined himself in familial *amicitia* to many from the Romans.").²¹ However,

Cicero commented that the point of friendship was not a hope of greater gains for oneself,

but that gifts and favours should be exchanged freely and out of love.²²

ut enim benefici liberalesque sumus, non ut exigamus gratiam (neque enim beneficium faeneramur, sed natura propensi ad liberalitatem sumus), sic amicitiam non spe mercedis adducti, sed quod omnis eius fructus in ipse amore inest, expetendam putamus.

For we are generous and liberal not because we demand *gratia* (for we do not lend favours on interest, but we are by nature inclined towards goodwill), thus we

¹⁸ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 19; Verboven (2011) pp.407-408, 409-410.

¹⁹ Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.20; Verboven (2011) pp.407-408.

²⁰ Verboven (2002) pp.71-105 on the use of gift-giving and *amicitia* in the Roman economy.

²¹ Sallust, *De Bello Iugurthino*, 7.7.

²² Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 3.15.4 expressed a similar sentiment as to the importance of generosity under the Julio-Claudian emperors when he writes that whoever gave *beneficia* imitated the gods and whoever asked for return on them imitated usurers.

believe in seeking friendship not for hope of being brought to a reward, but because all satisfaction is in the love itself. - Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 31.

Each act of kindness was expected to be met with *gratia*.²³ This was a hugely important part of the reciprocity of Roman friendships which would ensure that the favour would be returned, regardless of a friend's material ability.²⁴ Cicero claimed that no duty was more imperative than that of returning *gratia*: *nullum enim officium referenda gratia magis neccessarium est*. ("for no duty is of greater necessity than returning *gratia*."²⁵) There was also the importance of reputation: friendships were public, and so participants were expected to honour each other with gifts or risk being seen as ungrateful by their peers.²⁶ *Fides* (trust and loyalty) was also of vast importance.²⁷ Accordingly, it was the trust that a friend would return a gift or favour that held friends together: *firmamentum autem stabilitatis constantiaeque est eius, quam in amicitia quaerimus, fides: nihil est enim stabile, quod infidum est*. ("But the support of that stable perseverance which we seek in friendship is trust/loyalty. For nothing is stable which is untrustworthy."²⁸) Thus, any *beneficium* became an outward symbol of the trust between two parties.²⁹

Roman *amicitia* was a complex relationship "in which reciprocity, affection and loyalty were mingled, and advantage and altruism intertwined, all of these together producing, and being produced by, acts of kindness."³⁰ There was a strong set of rules and established behaviours associated with friendship. Cicero stressed that good men and love were the key aspects, rather than exchange. However, the fact that the author felt the need to point this out suggests that he was writing about an idealised friendship against the background of a more corrupt system, in which *amicitia* was used for personal gain.

²³ Verboven (2011) pp.408-409.

²⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 3.11. After Pliny gave financial aid to Artemidorus, he praised Pliny often, displaying his *gratia* and increasing Pliny's reputation.

²⁵ Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.48.

²⁶ Verboven (2011) pp.410-411.

²⁷ Verboven (2011) p.409.

²⁸ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 65.

²⁹ Verboven (2011) p.409.

³⁰ Verboven (2011) p.408.

Cicero presented his contemporaries at the end of the Republic as men who believed that the best friends were those from whom the greatest benefit could be gained.³¹ Cicero argued against such notions, claiming that they were unbecoming of the 'good man.' However, in the eyes of Romans, friendship could not exist without such exchanges of gifts and services.³² Marcel Mauss' *Le Don* also states that such acts of reciprocity are vital to friendship since they are the only available evidence that the relationship exists.³³ Previously, Miriam Griffin illustrated how these reciprocal gift exchanges were seen as crucial to the working of Roman society.³⁴ Friendship was the chief bond of human civilisation³⁵ and an understanding of such gift exchanges can be seen in Greek, Roman, Christian, Jewish and Israelite societies throughout antiquity.³⁶ Thus, as Paul Burton's recent work has demonstrated, there was little stopping the Romans from incorporating gift-exchanges and *amicitia* into dealings with foreign rulers and peoples, making it an empire-wide phenomenon.³⁷ Cicero spoke of the Romans' *patrocinium orbis terrae* (protection over the whole world) then immediately discussed personal *amici*, implying that in this context, *patrocinium* does not refer to 'patronage,' but Rome's international friends.³⁸ It also demonstrates how closely ideas of patronage and friendship were

³¹ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 79: *Sed plerique neque in rebus humanis quicquam bonum norunt, nisi quod fructuosum sit, et amicos, tamquam pecudes, eos potissimum diligunt, ex quibus sperant se maximum fructum esse capturos.* But the majority discern nothing good in the human experience, unless there is gain, and they prize their friends as their cattle: they value those most able from which they hope, from taking them, there will be maximum gain for themselves.

³² Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 26.

³³ Mauss (1967) pp.3-13; Michael Satlow (2013) has published a volume exploring the usefulness of Mauss' 'gift-giving' language to explore the ancient world. In this volume, Zeba Crook (2013) p.68 argued that the language of *amicitia* and gift exchange could be used to mask patron-client relationships in Roman society. However, Sarah Culpepper Stroup (2013) pp.108-109 used the gift of literary texts to demonstrate that the circumstances and expectations of gift-giving between individuals varied depending upon who was involved in the exchange, and that such exchanges were not simply limited to ideas of patronage. A growing field of research is also the use of gift-giving as an economic phenomenon. For this, Hénaff (2014) pp.71-83; Reinstein (2014) pp.85-98; Verboven (2014) pp.135-150.

³⁴ Griffin (2003) pp.92-113.

³⁵ Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 1.4.2; Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.22.

³⁶ Satlow (2013) p.7.

³⁷ Burton (2003) p.341.

³⁸ Cicero, *De Officiis*, 2.27; Burton (2003) p.340.

intertwined in Roman thought or rhetoric. Therefore, Rome's international dealings could take the form of friendship with other communities.

In 2003, Paul Burton also emphasized how *amicitia* was used by Rome for interstate relationships in the third-second centuries BC, opposed to Badian's idea of *clientelae*.³⁹ However, Burton also demonstrated that there was also room for ideas such as altruism, emotion and honour.⁴⁰ International friendships could be both useful and still have room for idealised notions such as *amor* and *benevolentia*.⁴¹ Burton argued that such ideas must be considered in any debate about Roman rule and foreign relations because the Romans were successful in their conquest through their use of trust and the ability to balance the interests of their allies and new subjects.⁴²

5.2: Diplomatic *Amicitia* at the End of the Republic

It has already been demonstrated that foreign nations used the language of friendship long before the establishment of the Roman Principate.⁴³ However, during the Republic, friendship appears to have been between peoples rather than individuals. Michael Snowden provided a good example of this in the form of a *senatus consultum* dealing with a land dispute between the Greek city states of Melitaia and NARTHAKION in 140 BC.⁴⁴ Both sides began their speech by claiming ownership of the land since they had entered into the friendship of the Roman people: μεθ' ἧς χώρας εἰς τὴν φιλίαν τοῦ / [δήμου τ]οῦ 'Ρωμαίων νν παρεγένοντο... [καὶ γὰρ] μετὰ τα[ύτης] / τ[ῆς] χώρας εἰς τὴν [φ]ιλίαν[ν] τ[οῦ] δ[ή]μου [τοῦ 'Ρω] / -[μ]αίων[ν] Ναρθακιεῖς παραγ[εγονέν]αι...⁴⁵ ("among the lands when they entered into the friendship of the Roman people... and for among these lands the

³⁹ Burton (2003) pp.333-369.

⁴⁰ Burton (2011) p.22.

⁴¹ Williams (2008) p.34.

⁴² Burton (2011) p.23; Eckstein (2008) pp.342-381.

⁴³ Nicols (2016) p.180.

⁴⁴ Snowden (2014) p.428, (2015) p.219.

⁴⁵ Sherk (1969) no.9, lines 21-22 cf. lines 46-48 = *SI²*, I (1898) 307.

Narthakens entered into the friendship of the Roman people”). Here the friendship (*philia*) was not mentioned by the Romans, but by the people of the cities themselves. The inscription shows that the Senate took little notice of these claims when making its decision over who got the land, but Snowden highlighted the important way in which this language could be used to conceal Rome’s hegemonic concerns.⁴⁶ Yet throughout the Republic, the formula *in amicitia populi Romani* or *εἰς τὴν φιλίαν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων* was common in territorial disputes. Furthermore, Snowden has gone on to provide evidence that Greek *poleis* would often seek ‘renewals’ of friendship with Rome throughout the Republic.⁴⁷ Evidently being a friend of Rome was seen to bring great benefits to a people,⁴⁸ such as exemption from taxes for Aphrodisias during the triumviral period for whatever lands they held when they entered Roman *philia*.⁴⁹ Thus, friendship was an effective tool which states could use to manipulate the Roman Senate, as it looked to the future and could also simultaneously acknowledge Rome’s power, and the autonomy of the state seeking friendship.⁵⁰ Gift exchange was invoked in this example and also by the Narthakans, who claimed that the Romans had given them their laws as if it was the gift of a friend. If this was the case, it would make Rome a central authority to whom other states looked. Within modern International Relations theory, that of Realism is concerned with the world existing in a state of anarchy, with no over-riding authority. This apparently causes states to want to increase their own power as a way to feel more secure and ensure their continued existence. However, this clearly was not the case in 140 BC, when these Greek *poleis* were

⁴⁶ Snowden (2015) p.219.

⁴⁷ Snowden (2015) p.214.

⁴⁸ Snowden (2014) pp.439-444.

⁴⁹ Reynolds (1982) no.8, lines 21-26: [ἔδοξεν τῇ σ[υν]κλήτῳ πρό[ς] τὸν δ[η]μόν τὸν Πλα[ρ]ασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων χάριτα, φιλίαν, συμμαχίαν ἀνα]-/[νεώσασθ]αι, πρεσβευτὴν ἄνδρα καλὸν καὶ ἀγαθόν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ φί[λον, παρὰ δήμου καλοῦ καὶ ἀγαθοῦ ἔτι δὲ καὶ φί]-/[λου συμμα]χου προσαγορεῦσαι καὶ ἐπειδὴ συμφωνεῖται τὴν πο[λ]ιτείαν τὴν τῶν Πλαρασέων καὶ Ἀφροδισιέων]/[ἀφ’ οὗ πρόσ] τὴν φιλίαν τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων προσῆλθεν διην[εκ..c.36....]/[.c.6..τῇ ἡγεμονίᾳ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων μετὰ μεγίστης εὐν[οίας...c.33...]/[.c.9...]ας ὑπάρχειν ν. Καὶ ἐπειδὴ Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος καὶ Γάιος Καῖ[σαρ] αὐτοκράτορες...

⁵⁰ Snowden (2015) p.216.

appealing to the Roman state's authority. Yet, given the recent sack of Carthage and Corinth, it would make sense that the city-states were acknowledging Rome's power.

There is, of course, the obvious difference of language between *amicitia* and *philia*. Craig Williams adopted a post-Structuralist perspective when looking at the language used in discussions of *amicitia*.⁵¹ He demonstrated that no one word in a language can be translated exactly into another because of the different social connotations attached to them by different cultures. Although *amicitia* and *philia* are both translated to 'friendship' in Latin and Greek respectively, there are some subtle differences in the connotations. *Philia* is a type of love.⁵² This is in contrast to Cicero's description of *amicitia*, which states that love itself, *amor*, is a vital part of this relationship, as without it, the key part of the *amicitia* is lost.⁵³ P. A. Brunt pointed out that *amicitia* is derived from *amo*, to love.⁵⁴ Therefore, on a moral and philosophical basis the two words and phenomena are slightly different. However, both *philia* and *amicitia* were used in interstate relations and in this context seem to have similar understanding. Indeed, mentions of *philia* being used for political or diplomatic reasons appear in a number of Greek texts, across genres and time periods.⁵⁵ This demonstrates a similarity in understanding of the mechanisms of such relationships across different time periods and societies. Jon Nicols highlighted that almost

⁵¹ Williams (2008) pp.29-42.

⁵² Davidson (2007) pp.32-34; Konstan (1996a) pp.6-11; Konstan (1996b) p.75-92 used Aristotle to demonstrate that whilst *philein* often means 'to love', *philos* refers more narrowly to the notion of friendship only when certain *philo*i are mentioned. The interpretation of *philia* and *philos* depends upon the context and the people involved; it can also be applied to kin groups and people sharing a common goal or experience. Konstan (1996b) p.91 summarised that in general, *philos* and *philia* refer to affection.

⁵³ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 19.

⁵⁴ Brunt (1965) p.3.

⁵⁵ Aristotle, *Politica*, 3.9.14 did not rule out the possibility of a community beyond the *polis* being concerned with virtue and happiness as a result of *philia*; Sihvola (2010) pp.14-19. Thucydides, *De Bello Peloponnesiaco*, 5.5.1 described how Phaeax entered into a friendship with the Athenians: ἐν δὲ τῇ παρακομῇ τῇ ἐς τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ πάλιν ἀναχωρήσει καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἰταλίᾳ τισὶ πόλεσιν ἐχρημάτισε περὶ φιλίας τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. The text later talks of seeking friendship and alliances with the people of Sicily in preparation for war: 6.34.1: ὅρασθαι οὖν τὰ τε αὐτοῦ παρασκευαζόμεθα καὶ ἐς τοὺς Σικελοὺς πέμποντες τοὺς μὲν μᾶλλον βεβαιωσώμεθα, τοῖς δὲ φιλίαν καὶ συμμαχίαν πειρώμεθα ποιεῖσθαι.

all Indo-European cultures seem to have had an awareness of the gift exchanges associated with *hospitium* between peoples from different communities.⁵⁶ Accordingly, because ‘guest-friendship’ was a widely recognised phenomenon, the language and practices of *hospitium* allowed two people from different communities to be both ‘us’ and ‘other’ and these practices provided some form of order when there were no laws to follow.⁵⁷ The language and practices of *amicitia* can operate in a similar way. Even though the meanings and philosophies differed, the practices associated with them were similar enough to be understood by different audiences and, thus, provided some form of framework in which states and international players could operate on a level which both understood, but which also allowed for regional variations of understandings.

While the inscriptions from the Narthakians and Melitaian seem to emphasise the importance of *philia* with the Roman people, the Latin texts instead seem to show that towards the end of the Republic, friendship with prominent Romans rather than the Roman people occurred.⁵⁸ For instance, Julius Caesar presented Ariovistus, the king of the Aedui tribe in Gaul, before the Senate in Rome. Caesar wrote of his dealings with Ariovistus during his *Gallic Wars*. He spoke of how he convinced the Senate of his *beneficia* towards Ariovistus and the language used is one of friendship.

Caesar initio orationis sua senatusque in eum beneficia commemoravit, quod rex appellatus esset a senatu, quod amicus, quod munera amplissime missa; quam rem et paucis contigisse et pro magnis tantum officiis consuesse tribui docebat; illum, cum neque aditum neque causam postulandi iustam haberet, beneficio ac liberalitate sua ac senatus ea praemia consecutum. ... omni tempore totius Galliae principatum Haedui tenuissent, prius etiam quam nostram amicitiam adpetissent.

Caesar recalled at the beginning of his speech the benefits given to Ariovistus by himself and the Senate: that he had been called king and friend by the

⁵⁶ Nicols (2016) p.180.

⁵⁷ Nicols (2016) p.190.

⁵⁸ Coşkun (2008) p.12.

Senate and that gifts had been sent most lavishly. Caesar was making him aware that this had only been held by a few and that it was usually conferred on account of great personal services of men. Ariovistus, although he had no right to an audience nor just cause to request it, obtained these privileges through the kindness and generosity of Caesar and the Senate. ... For all time the Aedui had held primacy in all of Gaul, even before they had sought our friendship. - Caesar, *De Bello Gallico*, 1.43.4-7.

This passage contains words such as *beneficia* and *officia*, the key aspects of friendship as outlined by Cicero (See 5.1). The morals displayed by Julius Caesar and Ariovistus are emphasised throughout. It also speaks of *munera*, the gifts or services associated with *amicitia*. Rome was displaying her *benignitas*, stressing that Ariovistus' kingship itself was a gift. The king then showed his *gratia* through his loyal service, for which he was again rewarded by the Senate through decrees and honours. Both sides benefited from this arrangement and it was cast as the traditional *amicitia*. Ariovistus and his people supposedly sought Rome's friendship, though Caesar acted as a go-between. Thus, it would seem that international diplomacy was developing and being conducted via personal relations towards the end of the Republic. While this text comes from the writings of Julius Caesar himself, who probably exaggerated his own role in the forming of this relationship, it does show the rise of prominent individuals acting on behalf of the Roman state in diplomacy. In the above text, Caesar and the Senate granted *beneficia* to Ariovistus on equal terms, and both display their *liberalitas*, instead of simply the Roman Senate being represented. However, it should be noted that this was a piece of literature, rather than an official document and so it is entirely possible that when such terminology appeared, it was a literary trope rather than representing the way in which diplomacy was conducted with foreign kings or nations.

Of course, the outbreak of civil wars meant that foreign kings would find it hard to become friends with the Roman state alone. It is not surprising that Appian and Tacitus claim that Octavian and Antony's exploits placed great strain on individuals who claimed to

be a friend to one or the other, or both.⁵⁹ Furthermore, Josephus described the famous instance in which Herod came to Augustus and urged him to consider not that he had been a friend to Mark Antony, but the type of friend he had been.⁶⁰ This episode illustrates that it was believed that friendships with individual Romans, rather than the Roman people or Senate, could be beneficial for kings on the fringes of the world.

When Octavian Caesar became Augustus, the Roman world gradually changed. Although there had been a tendency for foreign rulers to befriend prominent Romans before this point, there was now a very clear hierarchy for them to follow. Julia Wilker has claimed that the Roman Emperor was now the clear centre of the Empire and that as such, foreign kings sought his friendship and approval out of an acknowledgement that the emperor controlled their fate.⁶¹ However, she focused very much on the Herods of Judaea. As will be explored in the next chapter, inscriptions from the Bosporan kingdom show that there was a period of ambiguity in which rulers had to work out through trial and error the best way to become, or remain, a friend of Rome or of Caesar. Nevertheless, when Augustus wrote his *Res Gestae*, he made bold claims about his diplomatic successes.

Ad me ex India regum legationes saepe missae sunt, non visae ante id tempus apud quemquam Romanorum ducem. Nostram amicitiam appetiverunt per legatos Bastarnae Scythaeque et Sarmatarum qui sunt citra flumen Tanaim et ultra reges, Albanorumque rex et Hiberorum et Medorum. Ad me supplices confugerunt reges Parthorum Tiridates et postea Phrates regis Phratis filius, Medorum Artavasdes, Adiabenorū Artaxares, Britannorum Dumnobellaunus et Tincomarus, Sugambrorum Maelo, Marcomanorum Sueborum . . . rus. Ad me rex Parthorum Phrates, Orodīs filius, filios suos nepotesque omnes misit in Italiam, non bello superatus, sed amicitiam nostram per liberorum suorum pignora petens. plurimaeque aliae gentes expertae sunt populi Romani fidem me principe, quibus antea cum populo Romano nullum extiterat legationum et amicitiae commercium. A me gentes Parthorum et Medorum per legatos principes earum gentium reges petitos acceperunt: Parthi Vononem regis Phratis filium, regis Orodīs nepotem, Medi Ariobarzanem, regis Artavazdis filium, regis Ariobarzanis nepotem.

⁵⁹ Appian, *De Bellis Civilibus*, 5.60-64; Tacitus, *Annales*, 1.10 claimed that Lepidus was betrayed by the appearance of friendship.

⁶⁰ Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, 1.386-397.

⁶¹ Wilker (2008) p.165.

Embassies of kings from India were often sent to me, such as have not been seen before in the presence of any Roman general. The Bastarnae sought our friendship through envoys, and the Scythians and Sarmatians who are on both sides of the River Tanais, and the kings beyond, the king of the Albani and Hiberii and the Medes. The kings of the Parthians, Tiridates and then Phrates, the son of king Phrates, Artavasdes of the Medes, Artazares of the Adiabeniens, Dumbellaunus and Ticomarus of the Britons, Maelo of the Sugambri, -rus of the Suebic Marcomanni fled to me as supplicants. Phrates, king of the Parthians, son of Orodes, sent all his sons and grandsons into Italy to me, not after being conquered in war, but asking for our friendship through the pledge of his children. And while I was ruler, many other peoples experienced the *fides* of the Roman People, before which no embassies or exchange of friendship had existed with the Roman People. From me the Parthian and Median peoples received kings, whom they had sought through envoys drawn from their leaders. The Parthians received Vonones, son of king Phrates and grandson of king Orodes. The Medians received Ariobarzanes, son of king Artavasdis and grandson of king Ariobarzanes. – *Res Gestae*, 31-33.

This inscription shows several aspects of diplomatic *amicitia*; firstly, it is telling that Augustus claims that envoys and kings sought him out personally. *Ad me* begins several of the sections, rather than mentioning the Roman Senate. Evidently, Augustus' power had eclipsed that of the Senate, or he wished it to have eclipsed the previous governing body. Thus, this example would fit the modern Social Constructivism theory which places individual players as more important than the states they represent. However, it should be noted that the *populus Romanus* remains, and often "our friendship" was sought. Secondly, the *Res Gestae* emphasises kings as key to such friendships: either they sent envoys, or they sought friendship themselves. Phrates accordingly sought this friendship by sending his children to Augustus, a practice common to friendly kings and discussed by Braund in detail.⁶² In other locations, the kings themselves were gifted by Augustus as a way to forge a link with foreign populations, as seen with the Parthians and Medians. Finally, the kings need not be the ones forming friendship with Augustus. It could be between Augustus and a population, or a king and the Roman people. There were many possible forms which diplomatic friendships could take according to this brief section of the *Res Gestae*. It would

⁶² Braund (1984) pp.9-17.

seem that after Augustus' death, these practices continued. The tone for diplomatic friendships had been set.

5.3: Personal Friendships Between Rulers

In the following two centuries in the Danubian-Pontic region, similar language and practices were used in diplomacy between Rome and its northern neighbours. Julia Wilker has argued that personal friendships were commonly depicted for emperors and foreign kings in the Principate, and that this led to the kings seeing themselves and their families more in accordance with the Roman Empire.⁶³ Accordingly, all 'friendly kings' followed similar patterns of behaviour, such as appearances in Rome or the raising of royal children in the city, which would allow the imperial house and the foreign dynasty to forge links through their children, which would prove fruitful in later years,⁶⁴ as foreign kings from the East could play important roles in Roman power networks, especially during times of crisis.⁶⁵ David Braund expressed similar ideas as to the importance of travelling to Rome for kings.⁶⁶ However, this thought very much focuses on kings with whom friendship had been long established, such as the Herods of Judaea.

Yet, not all neighbouring rulers used the titles associated with friendship with the Romans or had long-established relationships. This is particularly true with the tribal rulers who inhabited the region to the north of the Danube. Altay Coşkun's *Foreign Friends of Rome* project has a prosopographical list of all the rulers described as *amicus populi Romani*, or *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi*, along with those described in such terms by the surviving literature or coinage.⁶⁷ A number of rulers from the Bosporan Kingdom appear. Yet very few peoples to the west of the Black Sea, such as the Dacians or Rhoxolani, are

⁶³ Wilker (2008) pp.165, 168.

⁶⁴ Wilker (2008) p.166.

⁶⁵ Wilker (2008) pp.181-183.

⁶⁶ Braund (1984) pp.55-58.

⁶⁷ Coşkun (2016).

mentioned. The only Dacian king listed is Cositon (possibly Coson),⁶⁸ who was king of the Dacians after Burebista's rule ended. He has been included owing to mentions of him by Suetonius in the wars between Octavian and Mark Antony.⁶⁹ Several gold coin hoards were found in the region in the sixteenth century which feature the name Coson. Debates are still ongoing over whether this is the same individual as the king of the Getae with whom Octavian supposedly formed a marriage link.⁷⁰ However, no other rulers of the region have been recognised as 'friends of Rome' by the *Amici Populi Romani* project. Admittedly, the list only goes so far as the Flavian Period. Nevertheless, the obvious explanation for this lack of inclusion is that Rome was often at war with the peoples to the north of the Danube, as demonstrated in the previous chapter. Yet, wars were not constant, and other forms of interaction did take place. Just because a ruler was not a 'friendly king', does not mean that the Roman state did not have dealings with him. A number of exchanges between the Roman state and the rulers of the peoples in this region have been recorded and it can be seen that these also seem to follow the morals and practices of *amicitia*. It should of course be noted that the following exchanges were seemingly only recorded because of their abnormality: one leader, or both, were breaking the rules in some way and that made the episodes worth recording. Traditional exchanges and successful diplomatic practices were rarely recorded, and certainly not celebrated in monumental artwork in the same ways that successful military encounters were.

Cassius Dio, when describing the dealings between the Romans and the Dacians, emphasised the role of individuals and exchanges of gifts and services. These can be understood in the context of *amicitia*. However, the term 'friendship' is never explicitly used.

⁶⁸ Braund (1984) p.125.

⁶⁹ Suetonius, *Divus Augustus*, 63.2.

⁷⁰ Preda (1973) pp.353-361; Coşkun (2016).

ὅτι ὁ Δομιτιανὸς ἡττηθεὶς ὑπὸ Μαρκομάνων καὶ φυγὼν ἔπεψε διὰ ταχέων πρὸς τὸν Δεκέβαλον τὸν Δακῶν βασιλέα, καὶ ἐς σπονδὰς αὐτὸν ὑπηγάγετο, ἃς πολλάκις αἰτήσαντι αὐτῷ πρότερον οὐκ ἐδέδωκε. Καὶ ὃς ἐδέξατο μὲν τὴν σύμβασιν (δεινῶς γὰρ ἐτεταλαιπώρητο), οὐ μέντοι καὶ αὐτὸς ἠθέλησεν ἐς λόγους αὐτῷ ἐλθεῖν, ἀλλ' ἔπεμψε τὸν Διηγιν μετὰ τῶν ἀνδρῶν, τὰ τε ὅπλα καὶ αἰχμαλώτους τινάς, ὡς καὶ μόνους ἐκείνους ἔχων, δώσσοντα. Γενομένου δὲ τούτου ὁ Δομιτιανὸς τῷ Διήγιδι διάδημα ἐπέθηκε καθάπερ ὡς ἀληθῶς κακκρατηκῶς καὶ βασιλέα τινὰ τοῖς Δακοῖς δοῦναι δυνάμενος, καὶ τοῖς στρατιώταις καὶ τιμὰς καὶ ἀργύριον ἐχαρίσατο, καὶ ἐς τὴν Ῥώμην ὡς νενικηκῶς ἐπέστειλε τὰ τε ἄλλα καὶ πρέσβεις παρὰ τοῦ Δεκεβάλου ἐπιστολήν τε, ὡς γε ἔφασκεν, ἣν ἐλέγετο πεπλακέναι. Καὶ πολλοῖς τὴν ἐορτὴν πομπείοις ἐκόσμησεν οὐκ ἐξ ὧν εἴλε (πᾶν γὰρ τοῦναντίον καὶ προσανάλωσε ταῖς σπονδαῖς, συχνὰ μὲν καὶ αὐτίκα χρήματα καὶ δημιουργοὺς παντοίας τέχνης καὶ εἰρηνικῆς καὶ πολεμικῆς τῷ Δεκεβάλῳ δούς, συχνὰ δὲ καὶ ἀεὶ δώσειν ὑποσχόμενος) ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν βασιλικῶν ἐπίπλων: τούτοις γὰρ ὡς καὶ αἰχμαλώτοις ἀεὶ ποτε ἐχρῆτο, ἅτε καὶ τὴν ἀρχὴν δεδουλωμένος.

Domitian, having been defeated by the Marcomani, fled and swiftly sent [messages] to Decebalus, the king of the Dacians, and led him to a truce, even though many times before he had not granted one to Decabalus when he asked. And Decabalus accepted his treaties, for he had endured terrible hardships. However, he did not wish to enter into talks with Domitian, but sent Diegis with the men, to give Domitian both the arms and captive men, whom he claimed were the only ones he had. This having been done, Domitian placed the diadem on Diegis as if he truly conquered and could give any king to the Dacians. And he granted honours and money to the soldiers. And to Rome, as if he was victorious, he sent many things and the ambassadors of Decebalus and a letter, at least as he claimed, though it was said that Domitian himself forged it. And he arranged the festival with much triumphal pomp, but all came not from victory. He was lavish with the truce, for he gave Decebalus much money in that moment and craftsmen of all skills of both peace and war and promised to give money always. But [his exhibits came] from imperial furniture which he always proclaimed as if they were captured in war, just as if he had enslaved the empire itself. - Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 67.7.

The above episode claims that during Domitian's Dacian war, he was simultaneously defeated by the Marcomanni who lived to the north of the Rhine. Therefore, he sought peace with Decebalus, the king of the Dacians. As demonstrated in the previous section, from the end of the Republic, Roman diplomacy was commonly portrayed as taking place between individuals, and with the advent of the Principate, this naturally focused upon the emperor. The fact that the envoy, Diegis, is mentioned here is meant to be unusual. It is used by Cassius Dio as a way to demonstrate the poor state of affairs between Domitian

and Decebalus: the king of the Dacians is so appalled by Domitian's past behaviour that he refuses to see him personally. Morals and an individual's personality became important in literary depictions of diplomacy at this point, and, as seen below, this continued throughout the Principate. No mention was made by Cassius Dio of *philia* between the two, and he emphasised that the exchange going on between the two rulers was a truce (*σπονδή*). However, some of the actions could be mapped onto what is known about diplomatic *amicitia* exchanges. Evidently, these two were not *amici*, but during this exchange, they were not meant to be *inimici* either.

For instance, Cicero stated that a key part of *amicitia* was the exchange of gifts and favours, but that *gratia* and *amor* also had to be present for them to be meaningful.⁷¹ Cassius Dio claimed that Domitian had given Decebalus artisans of every trade, pertaining to both peace and war. Such gifts of craftsmen were common in the early Principate.⁷² Nero had accordingly granted them to Tiridates on account of the king's flattery of the emperor.⁷³ In AD 75 Vespasian had sent a force to fortify the town of Harmozica in the Iberian region and the inscription which commemorated it refers to the king Mithridates as 'friend of Caesar and of the Romans': *φιλοκαίσαρι καὶ φιλωρωμαίων*.⁷⁴ Elsewhere in the

⁷¹ Cicero, *De Officiis*, 1.20; *De Amicitia*, 19, 31; Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 3.15.4.

⁷² Braund (1991) pp.214-215.

⁷³ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 63.6.6.

⁷⁴ OGIS 379: [Αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ]ρ Οὐέσ/[πασιανὸς Σεβ]αστός, ἀρ/χιε[ρεὺς μέγιστο]ς, δημαρχικῇ/ς ἐξουσίᾳς [τὸ] ζ', αὐτοκράτωρ τὸ// ιδ' ὕρατος, τὸ σ', ἀποδεδογμέ/νος τὸ ζ', πατήρ πατρίδος, τ[ειμη]/-τῆς, καὶ Αὐτοκράτωρ Τίτος Καῖ[σαρ]/ Σεβαστοῦ υἱός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίᾳς τὸ ε', ὕπατος τὸ δ', ἀπο//δεδειγμένος τὸ ε', τειμ[ητή]/ς, καὶ Δομιτιανὸς Καῖσαρ Σεβα/στοῦ υἱός, ὕπατος τὸ γ', ἀπο/δεδειγμένος τὸ δ', βασιλεῖ/Ἰβήρων Μιθροδάτη βασιλέως Φ//αρασμάνου καὶ Ἰαμάσδει τῷ υἱῷ/φιλοκαίσαρι καὶ φιλωρωμαίων<ν> (καὶ Ἰβήρων) τῷ ἔ/θν(ε)ι τὰ τεῖχη ἐξωχύρ(ω)σαν. [Imperator Ca]esa[r] Ve[s]p[asianus] Augustus, po[ntifex] [maximus,] holding tribunician power \ for the [seventh time,] imperator for the I fourteenth time, consul for the sixth time and designated for the seventh, father of his country, cen[sor], and Imperator Titus Ca[esar] | son of Augustus, holding tribunician | power for the fifth time, consul for the fourth time and designated for the fifth, cens|or, and Domitianus Caesar, A[ugu]s|tus' son, consul for the third time and designated for the fourth - for the king | of the Iberians, Mithridates, son of King Ph|arasmanes and Iamazaspuih, | friend of Caesar and of the Romans, and for his people they (the emperors) fortified the walls (Trans. Sherk). This inscription proves that 'friend of Caesar' did not replace 'friend of the Romans'; the two notions existed side by side into the Principate. See Chapter 6.

Roman world, Agrippa also greatly aided Herod of Judaea with the building of his cities.⁷⁵

The exchange of craftsmen was, therefore, common in diplomatic dealings with friends and was seemingly an honour worth commemorating when it happened. Thus, it would be strange that Domitian would supposedly make such a gift to an enemy whom he was trying to claim had been conquered.

What this episode from Cassius Dio shows is that, if it is an accurate description of events, Domitian acted as a good friend according to some of the morals of *amicitia*, fulfilling his end of a gift exchange. Yet at the same time, Cassius Dio highlighted that Domitian only did this after he needed Decebalus. This ties in well with a Realist perspective: Rome's security was threatened by the Marcomanni and so Domitian had to co-operate with Decebalus in order to maintain Roman power, and thus security, in the region. This also supports Cicero's claim that many who were not *boni viri* believed that the greatest friends are those from whom the greatest benefits can be gained.⁷⁶ However, for maintaining this security, Domitian was met with scorn. This passage shows that Cassius Dio did not approve of Domitian's dealings with the Dacian ruler and Domitian's claims of conquest. He criticised the emperor for the gift he made, as well as the promise to pay subsidies to the Dacians. This is not just confined to the writings of Cassius Dio; Pliny the Younger in his *Panegyricus* praises Trajan by claiming that Rome will no longer have to buy hostages,⁷⁷ which is seemingly a comment upon this episode under Domitian. Although the emperor had followed some of the rules of *amicitia* and exchange when dealing with Decebalus, his actions had damaged the *maiestas* of Rome, and he was still being criticised for that over a century later.

⁷⁵ Lichtenberger (2009) pp.51-52; Burrell (2009) pp.219-220; Chancey and Porter (2001) pp.173; Roller (1998) p.99.

⁷⁶ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 79.

⁷⁷ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus*, 12.

A key part of *amicitia*, as highlighted by Konraad Verboven, was *fides*, or trust and loyalty.⁷⁸ Altay Coşkun has also emphasised the importance of this when looking at friendship on an international stage.⁷⁹ In this episode, Cassius Dio used Domitian's treatment of Decebalus as a way to assess and condemn the emperor's character. The author points out that Domitian had sought a meeting with Decebalus, despite having refused the Dacian king's requests for the same thing in the past. This establishes that Domitian had not demonstrated any reason for *fides* to exist between the two rulers. It explains why *philia* is not seen anywhere in the language used by Domitian. As has been demonstrated, friendships were being cast as being between powerful individuals in a way that they had not been in the Roman Republic. Therefore, the personality of the individual, in terms of credibility and trustworthiness, becomes far more important. If Domitian is untrustworthy, as Cassius Dio claims he is, then diplomatic dealings will not go well. This is demonstrated by Decebalus' refusal to meet with Domitian, or to send him all of the hostages he had.

This episode demonstrates that exchanges seen in *amicitia* relations were a part of 'diplomacy' in the Principate, even with leaders who did not openly proclaim a friendship with Rome, or with whom relations had previously been cool. The current research of Enrique García Riaza, who was present at the conference on "Rethinking Globalisation in Antiquity" in May 2018, demonstrates that there existed universal practices after a war was won by Rome. Part of this *ius gentium* was accordingly the exchange of hostages. However, Cassius Dio used this practice to show that Domitian was supposedly a poor ruler, and a poor statesman on the international stage: he manipulated events to make it seem he was following the practices associated with diplomatic *amicitia*, such as the sending of men and the crowning of a king, as well as receiving hostages in exchange. However, according to

⁷⁸ Verboven (2011) pp.409, 418.

⁷⁹ Coşkun (2008) p.18.

Cassius Dio and Pliny the Younger, Domitian had merely paid for the privilege. If true, this would demonstrate an awareness of the importance of such rituals and appearing to follow them, especially to maintain the narrative he had constructed. As well as in peace time, exchanges and personal behaviours were a key part of Roman victory, as without *fides* or *benevolentia* Domitian gained no plunder or hostages for his triumph. Decebalus was not a friend of Rome, and Cassius Dio's language reflects this. However, through exchanges and the framework of friendship, including the exchange of *munera* or *beneficia*, along with displays of *fides* and *gratia*, enemies of Rome could be brought into the sphere of *amicitia*. If either individual failed to adhere to these rules, it was used to explain why the diplomatic process failed.

As mentioned in Chapter 1, an extension of the Social Constructivism framework is that of Social Identity Theory (See Chapter 1.2). This argues that how the identity of either one's home state, or a foreign state, was constructed would influence the type of contact the two states could have. Individuals are influenced by their emotional configuration, i.e. the environment in which they are brought up, which in turn influences and shapes beliefs and values. Social Identity Theory also argues that competition between any two groups is normal. The idea that past representations of 'the Other' would influence future interactions can be seen clearly with the Dacians and Trajan's interaction with them. In Rome, Trajan celebrated his victory over the Dacian people with his forum and column, as demonstrated in the previous chapters. He was heavily encouraged by his own past experience as a soldier towards war with the Dacians, as it has been established that he wished to use the conquest of Dacia to show the benefits of war to the people of Rome, and thus justify future campaigns in the east. However, another factor which could have influenced this decision was Rome's past contact with the Dacians. As shown in Chapter 4.1, Julius Caesar had been defeated by Burebista. Augustus had claimed conquest over the Dacians, and Domitian was heavily criticised for his own dealings with Decebalus, both by

later authors and contemporaries such as Pliny the Younger. And yet soldiers who had fought in the wars constructed an identity for the Dacian people as defeated enemies of Rome in order to explain their military honours. Therefore, it would seem that friendship and diplomacy were not options for Trajan: previous representations of the Dacians in Rome had been as enemies who needed to be defeated. Therefore, as claimed by Trajan's Column, no attempt of friendship or diplomacy is offered to Decebalus and instead, he is depicted committing suicide. He died as an *inimicus* of Rome, according to the official artwork.

Yet, there is plenty of evidence for emperors dealing with other kings of the Danubian-Pontic regions and following the rules and morals of *amicitia* and exchange, even though it is not known whether the kings used the titles *amicus* or *philokaisar*.⁸⁰ In texts such as the fourth/fifth-century *Scripta Historia Augusta*,⁸¹ there is evidence of Hadrian dealing with rulers on the edges of his empire such as Pharasmanes II, the king of the Iberians in Transcaucasia. Tacitus shows the importance of this region to Rome because of its relationship with the neighbouring Parthian empire.⁸² Rome's relationship with this region had been positive since the time of Augustus, with whom friendship had also been sought⁸³ and Nero increased the kingdom of Pharasmanes I.⁸⁴ Yet according to the *SHA*, the relationship between Pharasmanes II and Hadrian was much cooler, with almost petty

⁸⁰ The kings of the Bosporan Kingdom, who had the titles *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi*, will be explored in Chapter 6.

⁸¹ Rohrbacher (2016) pp.153-158 traced the literary allusions to other authors employed by the *SHA* to argue for a date after the fourth century, possibly AD 408-410, but does not give a solid conclusion.

⁸² Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.44.

⁸³ *Res Gestae*, 31.2; Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 49.24.1 described how Mark Antony sought an alliance with Pharnabazus of the Hiberii after defeating him in battle, and then went on to wage war on Albania with him. This illustrates again that friendship, or diplomatic relations, could be a key part of Roman victory.

⁸⁴ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 58.26.4, 60.8.1.

behaviour. While this text is not the most reliable for historical accuracy,⁸⁵ it does imply that diplomacy was being described in terms of the relationship between Hadrian and the foreign king, of which gift exchange was a key characteristic. This is despite Pharasmanes II not holding the title of *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi*.⁸⁶

17.10 of the *SHA* states that while many kings on the fringes of the empire treated Hadrian well, many also treated him with scorn. This passage reveals that Hadrian entered into gift exchange with rulers:

regibus multis plurimum detulit, ... multis ingentia dedit munera, sed nulli maiora quam Hiberorum, cui et elephantum et quinquagenariam cohortem post magnifica dedit dona. cum a Farasmane ipse quoque ingentia dona accepisset atque inter haec auratas quoque chlamydes, trecentos noxios cum auratis chlamydibus in harenam misit ad eius munera deridenda.

He brought so much to many kings, ... he gave huge gifts to many, but to none were the gifts greater than to the king of the Hiberi, to whom he gave an elephant and a cohort of fifty men after magnificent gifts. After he had himself also received huge gifts from Pharasmanes, and among these were golden cloaks, he sent into the arena three hundred criminals with the golden cloaks in order to mock the gifts of the king. – *SHA, De Vita Hadriani*, 17.10-12.

Accordingly, the emperor sent gifts to many kings, emphasising the personal nature of diplomacy in either the second century or fourth/fifth century AD and also demonstrating the importance of following the rules and morals of *amicitia*. However, to Pharasmanes he sent an elephant and fifty men. As seen above with Domitian and Decebalus, in the early empire, men were sent from Rome to assist kings in building work,⁸⁷ and this could have, therefore, been the case with Pharasmanes, though Syme believed the whole episode to be

⁸⁵ Rohrbacher (2016) pp.11-13, 20 argued that the work is one of literary allusion rather than historical accuracy, but that the Hadrian volume – along with the other primary lives - is one of the most 'accurate' in terms of historical events, and that the lost biographer, Marius Maximus, was a likely source; pp.150-153 argues that rather than showing concerns contemporary to the author of the *SHA*, the text reflects the concerns of the work's sources, namely Ammianus Marcellinus' fourth century *Res Gestae*.

⁸⁶ Neither this king nor his relatives appear on Coşkun's list (2016).

⁸⁷ Braund (1991) pp.214-215.

fictitious.⁸⁸ Contrary to Marcel Mauss' anthropological essay on gift giving being used to hold the world together, Zeba Crook has argued that this gift-exchange could also be a way to mask unequal patron-client relationships and prevent warfare through the ritual of exchange.⁸⁹ However, the use of *ingentia... munera* and *ingentia dona* implies that this was an exchange based on reciprocity and parity as described by Cicero and Seneca above, with both parties giving gifts of equal status.⁹⁰ This was a traditional example of the exchanges associated with *amicitia*, but it was now between an emperor and a king and was being used to conduct diplomatic practices. Once again, the exchange relationship seems to have been one which all parties understood in a setting where there was no greater authority to appeal to.⁹¹

The text reports that Pharasmanes sent gold cloaks to Hadrian. There was precedent for this type of gift-exchange between emperor and king: Herod left Augustus gold clothing in his will⁹² and the exchange of precious metals from the East is well documented.⁹³ However, Hadrian accordingly mocked the king by having criminals executed wearing them in the arena in Rome. If this is true, it would show *gratia* being expressed by Pharasmanes for the *beneficia* from Hadrian, but the Roman emperor failing to display *gratia* in return. This seems far-fetched as Pharasmanes was far away in the Iberian kingdom and would not be embarrassed by the act. However, if real, this episode does also show that although gift-giving was taking place, and thus the rules of *amicitia* were being followed, the behaviour of the two rulers was far from Cicero's idealised friend. This text highlights a potential danger with using friendships as a way to conduct politics: if either party failed to meet the conditions expected by the *amicitia* relationship, there could be dire consequences for the

⁸⁸ Syme (1984) p.1443.

⁸⁹ Crook (2013) p.63.

⁹⁰ Crook (2013) p.67 argued that for something to be a 'gift', it must be given between two individuals of equal status. Otherwise, it is a benefaction.

⁹¹ Nicols (2016) pp.180-190.

⁹² Braund (1984) p.141; Josephus, *Antiquitatum Iudaicarum*, 17.8.1.

⁹³ Hobbs (2006) pp.9-10.

people under their rule. It also illustrates how an individual's personality or past experience with another could drastically affect international relations, as described in the Social Constructivist model. For instance, *SHA Antoninus Pius* also states that under Hadrian's successor, Antoninus Pius, Pharasmanes visited Rome with his wife and son and sacrificed on the Capitoline as friendly kings had done during the Republic.⁹⁴ This relationship is depicted as far more congenial than the one between Pharasmanes and Hadrian. Evidently in this instance, the diplomatic friendship was not an idealised one between two states, but personal ones between its leaders. As soon as the emperor of Rome changed, so did Pharasmanes II's attitude, as he is said to have treated Antoninus Pius with far more respect. Thus, individuals' personalities and whims could affect the outcomes of encounters.

Elsewhere the *SHA* states that Hadrian outdid all other monarchs in terms of his gifts: *omnes reges muneribus suis vicit*.⁹⁵ In this section the emperor's character is being praised and so his *benignitas* may be exaggerated, but it again shows that gift exchange was the norm between emperor and monarchs.⁹⁶ In the Iberian kingdom silver drinking vessels depicting Antinous have been discovered which could have been gifts from Hadrian.⁹⁷ The *SHA* also claims that Hadrian made a friend of Pharasmanes through such gifts:

Albanos et Hiberos amicissimos habuit, quod reges eorum largitionibus prosecutus est, cum ad illum venire contempsissent.

He held the Albani and Iberi as the **greatest friends**, because he adorned their kings with generosity, although they had scorned to come to him. – *SHA, De Vita Hadriani*, 21.13.

⁹⁴ *SHA, Antoninus Pius*, 9.6; Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 69.15.3; Braund (1984) p.25.

⁹⁵ *SHA, Hadrian*, 17.5.

⁹⁶ *contra* Benario (1980) 108-109.

⁹⁷ Braund (1991) p.214; Kuttner (1995) pp.9-12 on gifts of tableware among friends. Mihajlović (2014) pp.194-218 examined the changing meaning of such objects as part of diplomatic exchanges on the Middle Danube. Bokern and Rowan (2014) pp.1-8 explored how an object's value can change depending on its culture and society and the background of its beholder, as well as simply its physical characteristics.

This part of the text describes Hadrian's foreign dealings. A desire to portray Hadrian in a positive light may be glossing over any tensions seen in the previous passage, or the author may have exaggerated the tension between Hadrian and Pharasmanes. Their relationship may instead have been a typical emperor-king friendship, which would explain the use of *amicissimus*.

There is further evidence aside from the questionable *SHA* to imply a diplomatic friendship between Hadrian and Pharasmanes. Cassius Dio described the invasion of the Alani into Media in AD 135 which caused Arrian to write his text *Against the Alani*.

... ἕτερος δὲ ἐξ Ἀλανῶν (εἰσὶ δὲ Μασσαγέται) ἐκινήθη ὑπὸ Φαρασμάνου, καὶ τὴν μὲν Ἀλβανίδα καὶ τὴν Μηδίαν ἰσχυρῶς ἐλύπησε, τῆς δ' Ἀρμενίας τῆς τε Καππαδοχίας ἀψάμενος, ἔπειτα τῶν Ἀλανῶν τὰ μὲν δώροις ὑπὸ τοῦ Οὐολογαΐσου πεισθέντων, τὰ δὲ καὶ Φλάουιον Ἀρριανὸν τὸν τῆς Καππαδοχίας ἄρχοντα φοβηθέντων, ἐπαύσατο. ὅτι πρεσβευτὰς μεμφθέντας παρὰ τοῦ Οὐολογαΐσου καὶ παρὰ τῶν Ἰαζύγων, ἐχέινου μὲν κατηγοροῦντός τινα Φαρασμάνου, τούτων δὲ τὴν εἰρήνην πιστουμένων, ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον ἐσήγαγε, καὶ παρ' αὐτοῦ τὰς ἀποκρίσεις τοιήσασθαι ἐπιτραπεῖς συνέγραψε τε αὐτὰς καὶ ἀνέγνω σφίσι.

Another war was begun by the Alani, who are Massagetai, by Pharasmanes, and it caused great injury to the Albanians and Media, then took hold of Armenia and Cappadocia. Next, the Alani having been persuaded by gifts from Vologaeses and terrified of Flavius Arrianus, the governor of Cappadocia, ceased. Envoys were sent from Vologaeses and the Iazyges, the former speaking certain things against Pharasmanes and the latter pledging peace. He [Hadrian] led them to the Senate and entrusted to act by the Senate he wrote and conveyed this to them. - Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 69.15.1-2.

The Alani had no formal ties to Rome, but Pharasmanes II encouraged them to invade the lands of the neighbouring Albani and the Medes. Vologaeses, king of the Medes appealed to Hadrian against Pharasmanes, implying that it was believed that Hadrian had some influence over the king of the Iberii. If so, it would strongly imply that friendship with the Roman emperor, or state, was a tool which foreign kings could use to manipulate one another, or rein each other in. Thus, Rome acted as a central authority in neighbourly disputes. However, if *nationes* were openly at odds with Rome then this could cause problems for those who were seen as friends of the Romans. This can be seen in a passage

from Cassius Dio whereby under Domitian, the king of the Cherusci in north-west Germany was attacked by the Chatti on account of his friendship with Rome.⁹⁸ Cassius Dio recorded that the lazyges also appealed to Hadrian, and that the emperor took their envoys, along with those of Vologaeses, before the Senate. Thus, this episode confirms the claims made in the *Res Gestae* that many dealings with foreign kings were carried out through envoys.

The texts seen so far have detailed diplomatic dealings in terms of the exchanges of *amicitia*. Remarks are also often made on the morals associated with these exchanges as a way to comment on the emperor's character. What was important, as demonstrated in Cassius Dio's description of Domitian and Decebalus, and supported by modern International Relations theories, was *fides*. Yet, Cassius Dio's account also claims that Vologaeses was able to halt the advance of the Alani by granting them gifts. Considering that all of the above sources have mentioned an exchange of gifts, favours or obligations in some way, such exchanges, as well as the language and practices associated with friendship, were seen by Graeco-Roman sources as a universal phenomenon which could be understood by all parties. As Jon Nicols pointed out, they were a way for players from differing backgrounds to understand one another and help make the 'them' into 'us.'⁹⁹ Thus, turning the 'other' into friends could be used to overcome what Social Identity Theory argues is a key human desire: the desire to compete and describe the 'other' in a negative way, thus creating tension and enemies.

5.4: Institutional Friendships Between Rulers and Peoples

During the Hellenistic period and Middle Republic, the epithet *philorhomaïos* appeared in the Greek East often. David Braund has stated that this could be a title

⁹⁸ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 67.5.1.

⁹⁹ Nicols (2016) p.190.

conferred by Rome, or one advertised by kings themselves.¹⁰⁰ As seen above, some diplomatic friendships were characterised in literary texts as taking place between influential Romans and individual rulers with the advent of the Principate, regardless of whether or not the king had such titles. However, this does not mean that all diplomatic relations were portrayed as between two individuals. Despite the emphasis of modern scholars on eastern kings, owing to the continuation and adaption of Hellenistic practices and the paucity of written evidence from other areas of the world, there is evidence that similar types of relationships were struck with the communities of the peoples of the Danubian-Pontic region. However, while the above literary texts emphasise the role of individuals and the morals associated with Roman *amicitia*, namely *fides* and *gratia*, even when no friendship titles existed, in reality other types of evidence give a different story. Coinage from Rome shows that diplomatic friendship was not necessarily close and personal between kings and Romans.¹⁰¹ Although kings and rulers were often a key aspect, it was possible for Roman emperors to claim friendship with a whole people as well. However, as pointed out by Altay Coşkun, the Roman emperor did not adopt titles to show his relationship with other peoples in the same way *philorhomaïos* was adopted by foreign kings.¹⁰²

In the final section of the *SHA*, Hadrian's policy towards other Eastern rulers is touched upon and all of the peoples in this part of the world are described through their rulers.

Parthos in amicitia semper habuit, quod inde regem retraxit quem Traianus imposuerat. Armeniis regem habere permisit, cum sub Traiano legatum habuissent. Mesopotamēnos non exegit tributum quod Traianus imposuit. Albanos

¹⁰⁰ Braund (1984) pp.105-108; Facella (2010) pp.186-191.

¹⁰¹ Cf. Wilker (2008) pp.165-185 who emphasised close bonds being formed between the children of the Roman imperial family and neighbouring dynasties, which could later be useful in Rome's political life.

¹⁰² Coşkun (2008) p17; Hekster (2010) pp.45-55 argued that the Roman attitude towards these kings was that it was a good idea to educate them in Rome and tie them to Roman rule. He also noted that authors were more likely to comment on kings if they had supplied troops for the Roman army.

et Hiberos amicissimos habuit, quod reges eorum largitionibus prosecutus est, cum ad illum venire contempsissent. reges Bactrianorum legatos ad eum amicitiae petendae causa supplices miserunt.

He always held the Parthians in friendship because he removed the king from them, whom Trajan had imposed. He allowed the Armenians to have their own king, after they had had a legate under Trajan. He did not exact tribute from the Mesopotamians, which Trajan had imposed. He held the Albani and Iberi as the **greatest friends**, because he adorned their kings with generosity, although they had scorned to come to him. The kings of the Bactrians sent legates to him, kneeling for the sake of seeking friendship. – *SHA, De Vita Hadriani*, 21.10-14.

Hadrian removed the Parthian king; he permitted the Armenians to have their own king; he gave gifts to the Albanian and Iberian kings and friendship was sought by the Bactrian kings' legates. Here the role of the individual in diplomatic friendships is obvious. It could be argued that this was more indicative of the political climate in the late fourth/early fifth century AD, when the *SHA* was written. However, a very similar idea is seen in Arrian's contemporary *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, where the author describes how the kings of the northern shore of the Black Sea held their kingdoms 'παρὰ σοῦ' i.e. from Hadrian.¹⁰³ However, the *SHA* text also touches upon something else: Hadrian is described as a friend of the peoples, rather than simply of the kings. Instead, there were different ways in which *amicitia* could be expressed in the Roman Empire, and this was not a decision of the author of the *SHA*, but a phenomenon for which there is other evidence throughout the Roman Principate. Augustus' *Res Gestae*, seen above, also describes how he was able to grant kings to the Parthians and Medians.¹⁰⁴

Of course, how these relationships were portrayed could change across different media and location. As seen in Chapters 2 and 3, how people represented the same idea could change with time and circumstance. The kings in the *SHA* were portrayed as a way in which the Roman emperor could create and maintain diplomatic *amicitia* with communities on the borders of the world. However, as seen with the writings of Cassius

¹⁰³ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 11.2-4 (See Chapter 2.2).

¹⁰⁴ *Res Gestae*, 33.

Dio, Domitian crowned Decebalus' envoy as king in order to make it seem he had won a victory over the Dacian people. Thus, this aspect of diplomacy could be interpreted in different ways: a way to maintain relationships, or a display of power. Both interpretations are possible if the coinage of Rome is examined.

Sestertii from the time of Antoninus Pius, minted in Rome, bear the legend *REX QVADIS DATVS* on the reverse,¹⁰⁵ referring to the Quadi along the northern border of the empire (Fig.52).



Figure 52. *RIC III, Antoninus Pius, 620. REX QVADIS DATVS S.C.* Antoninus Pius standing left placing a diadem in the hands of the king of the Quadi standing right. Image from <http://numismatics.org/collectionimages/19501999/1960/1960.164.15.rev.width350.jpg>.

This has been dated to AD 140-144. The design depicts Antoninus Pius (togate) placing a diadem in the hand of the king who wears trousers and stands on the left. This has traditionally been seen as evidence of Rome's superior, patron status over the client king.¹⁰⁶ However, if this coinage is compared to other depictions of kings in Rome, the

¹⁰⁵ *RIC III*, 110, no.620.

¹⁰⁶ Pitts (1989) p.49.

relationship appears far more equal, despite the emperor's larger stature. During Antoninus Pius' reign, a similar coin appeared to mark the emperor's granting of a king to the Armenians. Here, the king of the Armenians appears far smaller than the Roman Emperor and is physically being crowned (Fig.53).¹⁰⁷



Figure 53. *RIC III, Antoninus Pius, 619. REX ARMENIIS DATUS S.C.* Antoninus Pius standing left, holding a scroll and placing a crown on the head of the king of Armenia standing right. Image from http://ww2.smb.museum/mk_edit/images/n0/270/rs_opt.jpg.

Thus, it would appear that Antoninus Pius is the more powerful figure, physically handing power to these kings who were dependent upon Rome. Lynne Pitts posited that the difference in representation on the coinage could show different attitudes to Eastern and Western kings in the second century AD.¹⁰⁸ When compared to other coins minted in Rome which depict foreign kings, the Roman emperor is always larger or on a higher level, while the foreign *rex* stands beneath him. This can be seen on the coinage of Trajan, who grants a king to the kneeling Parthians from a platform, on a curule chair along with the prefect (Fig.54).¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁷ *RIC III, Antoninus Pius, no.619.*

¹⁰⁸ Pitts (1989) p.49.

¹⁰⁹ *RIC II Trajan 668.*



Figure 54. RIC II, *Trajan*, 668. Laureate Trajan right on obverse. *REX PARTHIS DATVS S.C.* Trajan seated on a platform presenting Parthamaspates to a kneeling Parthia. Image from http://www.britishmuseum.org/collectionimages/AN00643/AN00643355_001_l.jpg.

Furthermore, coinage from the reign of Marcus Aurelius depicts Lucius Verus in a similar pose, again crowning the king of the Armenians (Fig.55).



Figure 55. RIC III, *Marcus Aurelius*, 512. *REX ARMEN. DAT. TR P. IIII. IMP. II. COS. II* Lucius Verus seated on a platform and an officer and soldier standing. Verus crowns king Sohaemus standing below. Image from http://www2.smb.museum/mk_edit/images/n3/3784/rs_opt.jpg.

Here, Lucius Verus sits high above the king and physically places the diadem on his head.

The cloak worn by the king and his smaller, lower position make his identity as a non-

Roman obvious in comparison to Lucius Verus, sitting togate on a curule chair, with his

attendants on either side. Looking at the imagery of this coin, it would appear to show an

obvious power relationship between the two individuals. This is hardly surprising, given the coins were minted in Rome. However, when the text is considered, it shows that the relationship is not between ruler and ruler, but emperor and people, with the king being a gift: *REX ARMEN DAT*. Thus, Lucius Verus is being shown to the people of Rome as a powerful leader, on a higher level to neighbouring rulers. This is not a celebration of conquest but of peace and diplomacy. The coin is portraying how Lucius Verus' authority means he can make the world peaceful by granting Roman-approved rulers to neighbouring peoples. Rome is placed at the top of the world's power hierarchy. Yet, it would be surprising if ideas of Rome on equal footing with foreign nations were to be displayed in the city itself. Here, the emperor is all powerful and magnanimous to Rome's neighbours, ensuring peace and prosperity throughout the world.

Thus, Antoninus Pius' coinage from AD 140-144 depicts the king of the Quadi in a different light: he stands almost on the same level as the Roman emperor, implying a more equal relationship. Yet, on both the Armenian and Quadi coins, it is clear that Antoninus Pius is the larger individual, and on the coin celebrating the Quadi (Fig.52), the emperor holds a scroll of authority. He may not be sitting high above the kings, but there is little doubt as to who holds the power in this relationship. This is hardly surprising given the coins were depicted in Rome where the emperor's power would be emphasised.

Yet the pose in which Antoninus Pius and the king of the Quadi stand is interesting: their hands are clasping. This type of imagery was not new. It can be seen elsewhere across the Roman Empire as evidence of friendship.¹¹⁰ Lucia Nováková and Monika Pagáčová have demonstrated how such *dexiosis* poses were common in funerary art from Archaic Greek to Roman times, as well as in public art with a political purpose, and were often understood to

¹¹⁰ Badian (1958) p.12.

represent closeness between the people depicted.¹¹¹ However, they also argue that in imperial Rome, ideas of friendship or unity were less common in such poses.¹¹² Francesco Mari has also conducted research into this pose and its role in diplomatic dealings across the ancient world.¹¹³ Accordingly, to the archaic Greeks and Persians, the offering of one's right hand represented a particular type of trust in the fidelity of a faraway monarch and an acknowledgement of commitment, regardless of the type of relationship between the individuals.¹¹⁴ *Hospitium* tokens found throughout the Spanish peninsula dating to the Late Republic also depict clasping hands.¹¹⁵ In the triumviral period, coins were also issued depicting clasping hands with the staff of Concordia to celebrate the treaty of Brundisium (Fig.56).



Figure 56. RPC 67. *IIIVIR R P C*, diademed and veiled head of Concordia right / *M ANTON C CAESAR*, clasped hands holding caduceus. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/imp/marc_antony/RSC_0067.1.txt.

This image of clasping hands seems to have been widely acknowledged as signalling trust or closeness between the parties. Therefore, it seems highly probable that the audience in Rome, even if they did not originally come from the city, were able to see the imagery on Antoninus Pius' *sestertius* as pertaining to peace, concord or even friendship between himself and the king of the Quadi.

¹¹¹ Nováková and Pagáčová (2016) pp.208-209.

¹¹² Nováková and Pagáčová (2016) p.219.

¹¹³ Mari (2012) pp.181-201.

¹¹⁴ Mari (2012) pp.190-191.

¹¹⁵ Nicols (2011a) p.333; (2011b) p.429.

Furthermore, the language used in the legends of the above coins (Figs.52-53) is also seemingly that of *amicitia*. Yet, the friendship is not with the king, but with the people. Instead, the gift being granted is the king himself in each case: *REX QUADIIS DATUS*, *REX PARTHIIS DATUS*, *REX ARMENIIS DATUS*. The legend and design combine to illustrate the *beneficia* of the Roman emperor to the peoples on the fringes of the empire, with the king being the gift. These are not personal relationships between rulers of nations, as could be seen with the Herods and Julio-Claudians, or with Pharasmanes and Hadrian. Instead, the ruler of the Roman people is forming a friendly bond with the entire nation on the edges of the empire. This is similar to the *SHA*'s claims that Hadrian granted kings to peoples and the *Res Gestae*'s that Augustus did the same. This was not a new phenomenon created by Antoninus Pius but was simply a new method of depicting it. However, the fact that it is only seen on one surviving coin and that imagery on later coins quickly returned to the emperor sitting on a curule chair high above the king may suggest that this sort of depiction was not accepted in Rome.

Thus, *amicitia* did not have to be personal between rulers, even when Rome became controlled by an individual. Yet the role of the emperor was still key to this. He had replaced the Senate as the main player in the relationship, and in these coins, it is the emperor who holds the power of the Roman state, as made clear by the scroll held by Antoninus Pius or the curule chair used by Lucius Verus whilst dealing with foreign kings.¹¹⁶ Furthermore, these coins illustrate that *amicitia* between the Roman state and its neighbours was not only an idea which was played out in literary texts or on formulaic inscriptions in the Greek East: the people of Rome could see such language and practices on their portable coinage, implying that it was an accepted norm.¹¹⁷ However, while the literary texts seen above emphasise morals and character as key to diplomatic dealings

¹¹⁶ However, it should be noted that the Senate is not wholly forgotten in Figs.52-54 as SC still appears on the coins.

¹¹⁷ Wallace-Hadrill (1986) pp.66-87; Crawford (1983) pp.47-64.

between Rome and foreign kings, these coins demonstrate that such language could be formulaic, and that relationships need not be personal between rulers.

5.5: Masking Security Concerns?

Diplomacy depended upon exchange relationships and practices which seemed to follow the rules of *amicitia*. While these gifts could take the form of building equipment, horses, bowls or clothing, there is another thing which could be granted: cash. In the majority of the accounts describing Rome's dealings with foreign rulers, the Roman Emperor's goodwill and generosity – or lack thereof – are stressed, as seen with the *SHA* claiming that Hadrian outdid all other kings in terms of the gifts he gave. Yet there are questions over whether the language of *amicitia* was being used to mask problems of power and security, two of the key concerns of any state according to the Realist school of IR theories. There is textual evidence that Rome granted sums of money to her neighbours since the foundation of the Principate.¹¹⁸ As will be explored below, literary sources cast subsidies in various ways: gifts showing the power and generosity of the emperor; effective ways to buy peace from barbarian kings; or bribes unbefitting of Rome. The attitude towards the money depended upon the individual author, the emperor which was being discussed, and the time. However, never do any of them talk about the benefits these cash payments could bring to the security of the Roman Empire. It seems that instead, the focus was on using the money to explore aspects of the emperor's or king's character and morals.

Accounts claim that cash was given to local rulers in increasing numbers over time, especially across the Rhine-Danube. There is therefore the question of how the Romans would have represented these payments in comparison with other gifts. There are many

¹¹⁸ E.g. Suetonius, *Gaius*, 16.3; Tacitus, *Annales*, 11.16; Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 67.7.4.

references to individual Romans giving out cash as gifts to help friends.¹¹⁹ While many sources speak about Romans giving gifts to kings and peoples on the edges of the empire, money is not mentioned until Suetonius describes how Caligula restored Antiochus of Commagene to his kingdom and also gave a vast amount of money.¹²⁰ Here the money is not cast as a payment or part of diplomacy, but as an example of Caligula's goodwill and generosity. It is used to explain why a golden shield was voted to him, once again placing the emperor's morals at the forefront of such exchanges. Tacitus' *Annals* also describe how Claudius gave money to Arminius' nephew, Italicus, so that he could take up the throne of the Cherusci in Germany.¹²¹ This was a gift of money made to a Roman citizen rather than a subsidy paid to a foreign ruler in exchange for neutrality or loyalty. Tacitus went on to claim that Italicus was well received by the German people and the casual way he mentioned how Claudius gave money would seem to imply that this was common practice. Thus, in these cases, the gift of cash was a normal way for the emperor to show his liberality.

However, other attitudes towards such gifts of cash can be detected in other works. For instance, as mentioned above, in Pliny's *Panegyricus*, Trajan is praised for receiving hostages, instead of buying them: *accipimus obsides ergo, non emimus*.¹²² This is an obvious comment upon Domitian's payment of a subsidy to Decabalus in AD 88, for which the emperor was still being criticised at the time Cassius Dio was writing, claiming that although Domitian held exhibitions appropriate to a triumph, he had in fact experienced heavy losses in this campaign when he gave large sums of money to Decebalus and promised the continuation of these payments in the future.¹²³ There is no hint in these texts of it being a gift to a friendly king. Domitian's bribe to Decabalus was depicted both by Pliny and Cassius Dio as a disgraceful act, not befitting the emperor of Rome. It also shows

¹¹⁹ e.g. Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 1.19.

¹²⁰ Suetonius, *Gaius*, 16.3.

¹²¹ Tacitus, *Annales*, 11.16.

¹²² Pliny, *Panegyricus*, 12.

¹²³ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 67.7.4.

a sharp contrast in Tacitus' or Suetonius' depictions of such payments as showing the emperor's goodwill. In these texts, Rome and the emperor were in control of the money. However, with Domitian, Decebalus was very much in control and the payment was an embarrassment to Rome. Furthermore, this was not a one-off gift, but Cassius Dio claims that Domitian promised future payments to the Dacian ruler as well, explaining why in AD 100 Pliny urged Trajan not to use subsidies in diplomatic relations, showing that some Romans – or at least Pliny – did not want the emperor giving money to foreign kings.¹²⁴

Yet, at some point cash payments to foreign rulers seems to have become standard practice. Cassius Dio describes how Hadrian would use subsidies combined with perceptions of military effectiveness to ensure peace from foreign nations¹²⁵ and the *SHA* claims that Hadrian bought peace from kings.¹²⁶ Payment of cash became a key part of the defence of the Roman Empire.

The Rhoxolani to the east of Dacia were another people with whose king Hadrian and Marcus Aurelius had dealings, though they had not always been on friendly terms with Rome¹²⁷ and it is known that Hadrian had fought the Sarmatians as *legatus pro praetore* of Lower Pannonia in AD 107.¹²⁸ It has also been argued that the Rhoxolani are depicted on Trajan's Column, as it is known that they fought on the side of the Dacians in Trajan's wars.¹²⁹ However, as seems to be true for the entire history of the Danubian-Pontic region, warfare was not constant. The Rhoxolani were previously mentioned in the time of

¹²⁴ Pliny the Younger, *Panegyricus*, 12.

¹²⁵ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 69.9.

¹²⁶ *SHA, Hadrian*, 17.10.

¹²⁷ It is known from Tacitus, *Historia*, 1.79 that in AD 69 the Rhoxolani invaded Moesia. Josephus, *De Bello Judaico*, 7.94 on Rome's victory over the Sarmatians which Klose (1934) p.128 believed was also against the Rhoxolani.

¹²⁸ *SHA Hadrian*, 3.9. *CIL* 3, 550. *IG* II² 3286.

¹²⁹ Hyland (1993) p.102.

Vespasian when an inscription records that Tiberius Plautius Silvanus,¹³⁰ governor of Moesia, returned the king of the Rhoxolani's son to him.

...Regibus Bastarnarum et Rhoxolanorum filios, Dacorum fratrum(!) captos aut hostibus ereptos remisit.

...He returned sons to the kings of the Bastarnae and Rhoxolani and the brother of the king of the Dacians, who had been captured or snatched by the enemy. – *ILS*, 986.

David Braund highlighted that 'hostages' were a common part of the relationship between kings and Rome.¹³¹ However, in this inscription, it would appear that the sons and brothers being returned had been captured by the enemies of the Bastarni and Rhoxolani, rather than being held at Rome as was common for friendly kings' children.¹³² It has been suggested by P. Conole and R. Milns that at this point, the Rhoxolani, Bastarnae and Dacians were not Rome's enemies, but were fighting the Sarmatian lazyges and Aorsi.¹³³ If so, this is evidence that relations between Rome and the Empire's neighbours could change, with diplomacy and military strength being used in equal measures to ensure control, or at least peace in a region.

The *SHA* claims that Hadrian gave subsidies to the Rhoxolani after negotiating a treaty with their king in AD 117.

cum rege Roxolanorum, qui de inminutis stipendiis querebatur, cognito negotio pacem composuit.

He made peace with the king of the Rhoxolani, who complained about the diminution of his subsidy, after hearing the complaint. – *SHA, De Vita Hadriani*, 6.8.

It is possible that this came as a result of a Sarmatian revolt in AD 117/8.¹³⁴ This has been seen by some scholars as relating to border protection.¹³⁵ Seemingly, Hadrian was paying

¹³⁰ *PIR*², P: 480.

¹³¹ Braund (1984) pp.9-17.

¹³² *Res Gestae*, 32.2.

¹³³ Conole and Milns (1983) p.187.

¹³⁴ *SHA, Hadrian*, 5.2.

¹³⁵ Gordon (1949) pp.60-69; Klose (1934) p.129.

them not to invade Roman land, especially given their previous position as enemies of Rome, and there is no evidence of the Rhoxolani serving alongside the Roman legions.

Unlike Cassius Dio or Pliny's treatment of Domitian's similar actions in this region, there is no hint in this text that the cash was a gift of Hadrian to the king of the Rhoxolani. It would seem that by the second century, or fourth/fifth century when the *SHA* was written, this practice was the norm when dealing with foreign rulers. There is evidence that other aspects of Rome's dealings with these rulers were in keeping with those outlined by David Braund when discussing friendly kings. Two inscriptions found in Pola indicate that the king of the Rhoxolani and his son were also granted citizenship by Hadrian.¹³⁶

P(ubl)io Aelio Rasparag[a]no / regi Roxo[la]noru[m] / [u(xor)] v(iva) [f(ecit)] - ILS 852.

P(ublius) Aelius Peregrinus reg[is] / Sarmatarum Rasparagani / f(ilius) v(ivus) f(ecit) sibi et Attiae Q(uinti) f(iliae) Procillae lib(ertis) l[iber]/tabusq(ue) posterisq(ue) eorum – ILS 853.

This would imply that relations between Hadrian and the Rhoxolani were more congenial than under previous rulers.¹³⁷ However, these inscriptions do not name the king as *amicus sociusque populi Romani* or *Philokaisar kai Philorhomaioi*,¹³⁸ again demonstrating that just because a king did not hold these titles, does not mean that Rome did not have diplomatic dealings with them, or that these rulers were treated in a vastly different way to those who did hold the title.

The passage from the *SHA* shows Hadrian negotiating peace through means of a subsidy to be paid to the Rhoxolani. In the later Empire cash payments were made to the Sassanian Empire in order to ensure the protection of the frontiers from Arab tribes,

¹³⁶ Braund (1984) p.41.

¹³⁷ Braund (1984) pp.39-46 showed how kings would be granted citizenship by Roman emperor under the Principate.

¹³⁸ It is possible that this is because the stones are epitaphs, so would not record diplomatic titles.

especially around the Caspian Gates;¹³⁹ such a policy could have its roots in earlier practices. The text from the *SHA* implies that Hadrian had secured peace which was important for the security of Dacia but one of the conditions was a subsidy paid to the Rhoxolani. This tribe was being used as a 'buffer,' but Hadrian was paying for the privilege instead of relying on goodwill and equal exchange so important to Cicero and Seneca's ideal friendships.¹⁴⁰ Furthermore, the king felt bold enough to demand this cash from the Roman emperor. Evidently *amicitia* relations were not always enough to keep the peace along Rome's frontiers.

5.6: Conclusions

It has been acknowledged that diplomatic friendships became more 'personal' towards the end of the Republic, with rulers making friends with powerful generals such as Marius, Sulla, Julius Caesar and Pompey Magnus.¹⁴¹ This accelerated when Rome was personified by one man. However, the emperor was not the only individual who could be depicted in *amicitia* relationships; they could be formed between emperors and kings, kings and the Roman people, or emperors and peoples.

Literary sources emphasise the relationship between two individuals, which means that the morals of a good friend as outlined by Cicero and Seneca come to the forefront. *Fides* was a key part of diplomatic friendships, and so when individuals failed to act in a trustworthy manner, this could have repercussions. As seen in Cassius Dio's description of Domitian's dealings with Decebalus, the emperor's personality was intrinsically tied to Rome's relationship with the Dacians. This in turn affected how Trajan chose to deal with the same nation: because Domitian had been criticised for his conduct with Decebalus, and because the soldiers had used the Dacians as a way to proclaim their own personal

¹³⁹ Dignas and Winter (2007) p.194.

¹⁴⁰ cf. Klose (1934) p.128 who believed that Hadrian's negotiating with the king of the Rhoxolani in person may be evidence of a pre-existing relationship

¹⁴¹ Coşkun (2008) p.12.

victories, Trajan did not attempt to pursue a diplomatic friendship. Instead, he waged war. This episode thus lends itself well to modern debates of Social Constructivism and Social Identity Theory. It can be seen that morals did play a key role in ancient diplomacy, and that how a people were presented could affect a state's dealings with them.

Yet not all friendships were 'personal.' While eastern kings, especially those in the Bosporan Kingdom, took the title *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* (See Chapter 6), Roman emperors could also form friendships with whole communities according to the Latin sources. Many texts and inscriptions describe how the emperor made a friend of whole nations throughout the Principate. Often this was done by 'granting' a king to them, as claimed in the *SHA* and the *Res Gestae*. However, this was also a way to show Rome's power and it was evidently a key part of victory, as Domitian attempted to crown Diegis as if he was the king. The coins minted in Rome often depict the emperor in a much higher position in comparison to the king, but one minted under Antoninus Pius shows the emperor and ruler both with outstretched right hands. This was a universally acknowledged gesture of trust and friendship throughout the world and throughout history when it came to diplomatic dealings. Therefore, Rome could be depicted both as powerful and as trusting in their foreign neighbours.

Not all neighbouring rulers were granted or used the title *amicus sociusque populi Romani*, or *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos*, like those who appear in Altay Coşkun's *Amici Populi Romani* database. However, that does not mean that the Roman state dealt with them in a vastly different way. Gift exchanges were still depicted as common in the fourth century AD and according to the *SHA*, rulers were expected to show the *gratia* associated with *amicitia* for such gifts or favours. The language and practices of *amicitia* were still in use, regardless of whether or not a title existed. Jon Nicols emphasised the usefulness of *hospitium* as a method of interaction and exchange when no overall authority existed

owing to its widespread understanding with local adaptations. It has been demonstrated here that the same can be said for *amicitia*. Exchange of gifts, services, favours or hostages was seemingly a universally understood phenomenon. These existing practices were key to Roman victory, defeat, and maintaining order, and they were an effective way to help make seemingly exotic and foreign peoples more relatable.

Chapter 6: Bosporan Reactions to Rome

The previous chapter demonstrated that as Rome came to be ruled by one person, the literary evidence placed much greater emphasis on individuals and the rules and exchanges associated with *amicitia* between two individuals. When it came to the representation of international diplomacy, the emperor's character became far more important. However, coinage from Rome demonstrates that *amicitia* could also exist between emperor and a whole people, making it far more institutional than the surviving histories would have their audience believe. Stephan Benoist has used a number of Roman texts to demonstrate that depictions of 'the Other' were key to the formation of the Roman emperor's image.¹ However, reconstructing views of Rome from outside the Empire is difficult, owing to the abundance of 'Roman' evidence compared to that from neighbouring kingdoms.² Yet a number of inscriptions from the north coast of the Black Sea survive which hail the Bosporan rulers as friends of the Romans.³ Therefore, this chapter moves to Rome's neighbours and examines attitudes towards the Empire from the Bosporan Kingdom. This kingdom on the north coast of the Black Sea is unique because it remained independent of Rome but on good terms for nearly four centuries, with a brief interlude under Nero when the kingdom was possibly annexed. Surviving literature emphasises that when it came to diplomatic dealings, friendships between kings and individual emperors were vital. *Philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* appear in the titles of the kings which are preserved in the epigraphic record of the Bosporan kingdom. Tracing the development of this title provides some more concrete ideas about the region's views on

¹ Benoist (2016) pp.45-64.

² Benoist (2016) p.62. There are some ways to reconstruct attitudes towards Rome from local rulers; Cornwell (2015) pp.41-72 used an arch set up by Cottius in the Alpine region to demonstrate how the ruler chose to be portrayed as *praefectus* instead of *rex* after Augustus' conquest of the region.

³ Some 1300 inscriptions have been published in *CIRB*, with nearly nine hundred coming from Panticapaeum. Millar (1996) p.168. The 'Ancient Inscriptions of the Northern Black Sea' project is in the process of publishing these online: <http://iospe.kcl.ac.uk/index.html> [accessed October 2018].

its relationship with Rome, and reactions to events that were taking place in the Roman Empire.⁴ Furthermore, comparing how Rome was presented in epigraphic and numismatic evidence can be used to show that rather than the Bosporan rulers emphasising their submission to Rome, this relationship was in fact a source of legitimacy for them based on conversations with past traditions and present realities.⁵

Tacitus describes a conflict between Mithridates III of the Hiberi and his brother Cotys in the Bosporan region during the reign of Claudius.⁶ He states that a neighbouring ruler, Eunones was sought out by Mithridates on account of his friendship with the Romans.⁷ Eunones then sent a letter to Claudius on Mithridates' behalf and Tacitus claimed that the letter stated:

Populi Romani imperatoribus, magnarum nationum regibus primam ex similitudine fortunae amicitiam, sibi et Claudio etiam communionem victoriae esse. Bellorum egregios fines, quotiens ignoscendo transigatur. Sic Zorsini victo nihil ereptum: pro Mithridate, quando gravius mereretur, non potentiam neque regnum precari, sed ne triumpharetur neve poenas capite expenderet.

Between the emperors of the Roman people, and the kings of great nations, *amicitia* first was from similar fortune. For between himself and Claudius there was a combined effort in victory. The brilliant end of the wars was brought about so many times by forgiveness and so Zorsines, although he was captured, was not taken by force. On behalf of Mithridates, when he deserved more serious punishment, neither power nor kingdom were sought, but that he should not be led in triumph nor suffer his punishments with his head. – Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.19.

⁴ Millar (1996) pp.168-172 argued for a 'two-level sovereignty' within allied kingdoms, whereby people recognised both the local king and the Roman emperor as their rulers.

⁵ Similarly, Cornwell (2015) pp.41-68 examined a monumental arch set up by Cottius in the Alps in 14 BC and how this served to show the ruler's integration into the Roman world through administrative practices and *amicitia* rather than subjugation and conquest, but also a continuation of local power.

⁶ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 60.28.7 records how originally, Mithridates sent his brother Cotys to Rome in order to 'convey friendly messages to Claudius' (*φιλίους λόγους τῷ Κλαυδίῳ κομίζοντα*), whilst Mithridates himself prepared for war. Unfortunately, Claudius instead made Cotys the king of the Bosporans (although, Dio made an error and claimed that the brothers were fighting for control of the Iberian kingdom).

⁷ Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.18: *ad Eunonen convertit, propriis odiis non infensum et recens coniuncta nobiscum amicitia validum*. He turned to Eunones, who was not enraged by particular ill-will and who recently became strong by joining with us in *amicitia*.

According to Tacitus, friendly kings of Rome saw their relationship as a personal one with the emperor. Furthermore, rather than it being an unequal one whereby Rome acted as a patron, or the result of a legal treaty, it was supposedly based on similar fortunes or rank. It is also telling that Tacitus portrays friendships with the Romans as a way for friendly kings to enhance their own power and standing with other rulers on an international stage. Of course, it cannot be proven that such a letter existed, and this text shows Tacitus' attitude towards diplomacy and the use of *amicitia* far more than it does Euonenes' or Mithridates'.

However, similar ideas of kings owing their power to individual emperors can also be seen in the second-century texts of Arrian (see Chapter 2). Arrian wrote his *Periplus Euxini* upon the death of Cotys II in AD 132. Here the author listed all the kings on the north coast of the Black Sea and many are described as 'παρὰ σοῦ τὴν βασιλείαν ἔχει.' (holding their kingdom from you).⁸ Arrian made a personal link between these individuals' kingdoms and Hadrian, or in some cases Trajan. However, Arrian's account, which explores the mastery of Rome in a large part, does not give any further information about how these relationships were characterised. The attitude of the people of the Bosphorus towards friendship and its use in diplomacy may not be able to be recreated through Tacitus, or Arrian's pro-Roman lens.⁹ Therefore, this chapter traces the use of *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* in Bosporan royal titulature. It will demonstrate that despite Graeco-Roman literary texts depicting diplomatic friendships as personal, between emperor and king, often they were institutionalised, with the titles being hereditary rather than implying a close personal relationship with each Roman emperor. Furthermore, the chapter will use these titles as well as numismatic evidence to argue that these were not simply admissions of lower status to Rome on the part of the Bosporan kings, as has been stated by Altay

⁸ Arrian, *Periplus Ponti Euxini*, 11.2-3: Malassas of the Lazoi; Julianus of the Apsilai; Rhemmagas of the Abascoi; Spadagas of the Sanigai.

⁹ Benoist (2016) p.62.

ὄπλα ἐναντία θήσομαι Χερσονησίταις, οὐδὲ πράξω
κατὰ Χερσονησιτῶν ὃ μέλλει βλάπτειν
τὸν δῆμον τὸν Χερσονησιτῶν, ἀλλὰ συν-
διαφυλάξω τὴν δημοκρατίαν κατὰ τὸ
δυνατόν, ἐμμενόντων ἐν τῇ πρὸς ἐ-
μὲ φιλίας καὶ τὸν αὐτὸν ὄρκον ὁμοσάντων,
τὴν τε **πρὸς Ῥωμαίους φιλίαν** διαφυλασσόν-
των καὶ μηδὲν ἐναντίον αὐτοῖς πρᾶσσόν-
των. εὐορκοῦντι μὲν εὖ εἴη, ἐπιорκοῦντι δὲ τὰ-
ναντία. ὁ δὲ ὄρκος οὗτος συνετελέσθη ἐν
τῷ ἐβδόμῳ καὶ πεντηκοστῷ καὶ ἑκατοστῷ
ἔτει, μηνὸς Δαισίου, καθὼς βασιλεὺς Φαρνάκ[ης]
ἄγει.

But

We shall preserve his kingdom as far as we can
Being true in the following on our side of
Friendship, preserving **the friendship towards the Romans**
And doing nothing against them.
May all be well for us, swearing ourselves,
And the opposite (if we break it). This oath itself
Was sworn on the 15th day of the month Herakleios,
Apollodorus son of Herogeiton was king,
Herodotus, son of Herodotus was secretary. - - -
This oath, which king Pharnakes swore
When Matrios and Herakleios were ambassadors to him:
I swear by Zeus, Ge, Helios and all Olympian gods
And goddesses. I shall be a friend to the Chersonese for all time
And if the neighbouring barbarians march
Against Chersonesus, or the land ruled by the Chersonese,
Or do the Chersonese wrong,
And if they call upon me, I shall assist them, if I am able,
And I shall not plot against the Chersonese in any way,
I shall not plot in any way against Chersonesus,
I shall draw up no arms against the Chersonese, I shall do nothing
Against the Chersonese which is likely to harm
The Chesonese people, but I shall
Preserve democracy as far as I am
Able, if they **remain in friendship with me**
And swear the same oath
And preserve **friendship with the Romans**
And do nothing against them.
May all be well with me, and ill if I do.
This oath was sworn in
The 157th
Year, in the month of Daisios, when Pharnakes ruled
As king. - *IosPE I²402*.

The text has been dated to c.179-155 BC, though Jakob Munk Højte highlighted the difficulties around the dating of the inscription;¹³ in 182 BC Pharnakes sent embassies to the Roman Senate following accusations against him by Eumenes and the Rhodian people.¹⁴ Thus, it would be strange for the Roman state to enter into a friendship with Pharnakes at this time, considering they were aiding the king's enemies. The inscription records a defensive alliance whereby the king and the city will not be attacked by each other, providing the *philia* is maintained, both with the parties mentioned and with the Roman people. Just as with the land disputes seen in the previous chapter,¹⁵ international diplomatic friendship did not need to be personal but could be between a ruler and a state. What is interesting is that friendship must also be extended to the Romans by both parties. While the Roman state acted as an intermediary during the wars of Mithridates, if the earlier dating of this inscription is correct it would show that there was still considerable influence over the Black Sea region before the defeat of Perseus of Macedon in 168 BC. Højte believed that Rome was mentioned because both the Chersonesus and Pharnakes were *clientelae*.¹⁶ However, it could also be the case that rather than marking a formal alliance with the Roman state, this inscription shows the influence Rome had over relationships between different peoples, even without being directly involved; as pointed out by Snowden, people saw being in Rome's friendship as aiding one's case.¹⁷ The friendship evoked here was also to be eternal: *διὰ παντός*. It is interesting to see whether friendships remained eternal once the power of the Roman state was concentrated in one man, who was able to die and pass on this power to another individual.

Of course, there are questions as to what '*philia*' meant to the people who inhabited the north coast of the Black Sea: was it the case that it was similar enough to

¹³ Højte (2005) pp.137-152.

¹⁴ Polybius, *Historiae*, 23.9.1-3.

¹⁵ Snowden (2015) p.219.

¹⁶ Højte (2005) p.146.

¹⁷ Snowden (2014) pp.439-444.

Latin *amicitia* to be understood by both parties? An inscription from the reign of Sauromates I (AD 93 – 133) shows that the people on the north coast of the Black Sea still had similar ideas about friendship and the practices associated with it to those expressed by Cicero (See Chapter 5) in the first and second centuries AD.¹⁸

- 1 [βασιλέα Τιβέριον Ἰούλιον — —]
 [— — — —] φιλοκαίσα[ρα καὶ]
 [φιλορώμ]αιον, εὐσεβ[ῆ ἀρχιε]-
 [ρέα τῶν Σεβαστῶν διὰ [βίου καὶ]
 5 [εὐεργέτη]ν τῆς πατρίδος[— — —]
 [ἀνέστησε]ν ὁ δῆμος[ς] ὁ Ἀγριπ[πέων]
 [— — — εὐτ]υχῶς καὶ δωρεᾶ καὶ [— —]
 [— — — —] τᾶς πόλεσιν τόπ[ους ..]
 [— — — —] τοῦς περὶ τὸ γυμν[άσιον]
 10 [— — — — —] ο[.]εν ἐν ν[— — —]

King Tiberius Julius... *philokaisar kai philoromaïos*, pious, high priest of the Sebastoi for life and benefactor of the country... The people of Agrippea set this statue up...goodwill and gifts and... to the cities... those around the gymnasium...

This statue base begins with a standard formula for the Bosporan kings at this time (see 6.5): the *tria nomina*, *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos*, pious, high priest of the Sebastoi for life and benefactor of the country. However, it then describes how it was set up by the people of Agrippea in the city of Phanagoria, seemingly in the gymnasium. The key phrase is *εὐτυχῶς καὶ δωρεᾶ*, referring to goodwill and gifts. These were two of the key aspects of *amicitia* in the Roman world as outlined by Cicero and Seneca.¹⁹ It was seemingly how relations between cities, as well as rulers, were conducted in the Bosporan kingdom. However, that does not mean that each occurrence of a claim of friendship with Rome across the world was set up, or understood, in the same way.

It has been demonstrated that at the end of the Republic, Roman texts began to characterise diplomatic friendships between rulers and prominent Roman generals, such as Pompey, Caesar and Mark Antony.²⁰ Thus, it is not surprising that when writing about this period, Appian and Plutarch cast Lucullus' dealings with the region as friendship. Machares,

¹⁸ CIRB 983.

¹⁹ Cicero, *De Amicitia*, 26, 79; *De Officiis*, 1.48; Seneca, *De Beneficiis*, 3.15.4.

²⁰ Coşkun (2008) p.12.

the son of Mithridates VI of Pontus accordingly appealed to Lucullus and sent the general a golden crown, requesting an alliance with Rome against his father.²¹ This did not go well for Machares as Mithridates had his son killed and took control of the Cimmeran Bosphorus. The second-century Appian later mentions friendship between the two states under Pompey, who named Pharnakes, Mithridates VI's youngest son who also rebelled against his father, as 'friend and ally of Rome':

Φαρνάκην δὲ ἀπαλλάξαντα πόνου πολλοῦ τὴν Ἰταλίαν φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησατο, καὶ βασιλεύειν ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ Βοσπόρου, χωρὶς Φαναγορέων.

He [Pompey] made Pharnakes, who delivered Italy from much toil of war, a friend and ally of the Romans, and gave Bosphorus to him to rule, except Phanagoria. – Appian, *De Bello Mithridate*, 113.

In this instance, Pompey made the king a friend and ally (φίλον καὶ σύμμαχον Ῥωμαίοις ἐποίησατο). This seems to be a Greek version of *amicus sociusque populi Romani* which was used to describe kings around the edges of the empire.²² The honour was clearly bestowed by the Roman general, rather than being claimed by the king himself. Yet, in this case, the honour is clearly that the king is a friend of the Roman people, which is more ceremonial than forming an actual close relationship with Pompey. The gift, traditionally associated with Roman *amicitia* relationships, was the Bosphorus. It should be noted that Appian was writing in the second century AD and, thus, it cannot be said that this text reflects either the views of Roman generals at the end of the Republic, or those of Pharnakes. This terminology of course could have been down to the personal choices of Appian as an author, rather than reflecting any formal political events. Furthermore, just because the later author calls Pharnakes a friend and ally of the Roman people, does not mean that the king himself was granted, or claimed, such a title (see below for discussion of how *philorhomaioi* titles were gained). Indeed, in surviving inscriptions from Panticapeum, capital of the Bosporan Kingdom,

²¹ Plutarch, *Lucullus*, 24.1; Appian, *De Bello Mithridate*, 83.

²² Braund (1984) p.23.

Pharnakes is only called the Great King of Kings, and no mention is made of a friendship with Rome.

[Φαρνάκης? μέγας βασιλε]ὺς βασιλέων
[ἄρχων? Βοσπόρου τοῦ κα]τὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην
[ἀνέθηκεν?] Διὶ Γενάρχηι.

Pharnakes the great king of kings, ruler of the Bosphorus down from Europe, set this up to Zeus Genarches. - *CIRB* 29

[Φαρνάκης(?) μέγας βασιλε]ὺς βασιλέων
[ὑποτάξας βαρβάρους τοὺς κα]τὰ τὴν Εὐρώπην
[καὶ τὴν Ἀσίαν? ἀνέθηκε] Διὶ Γενάρχηι.

Pharnakes the great king of kings, having defeated the barbarians from Europe and Asia, set this up to Zeus Genarches. - *SEG* 40:627(1).

The first time *philorhomaïos* appeared in the Bosporan kingdom's epigraphic record was during the reign of Asander (r.44 BC – 21/20 BC)²³ who was named king by Octavian after Julius Caesar's assassination. In a dedication to Poseidon Sosineos and Aphrodite Nauarchis set up in Panticapeum, Asander is named as king of kings, the great Asander, *philorhomaïos* and saviour.²⁴

- 1 βα[σιλεύοντος βασιλέως βασιλέων]
 μεγάλου Ἀσάνδρου [φιλ]ορωμαίου σωτῆ-
 ρος καὶ βασιλίσσης Δυνάμεως Παν-
 ταλέων ναύαρχος Ποσιδῶνι Σωσινέ-
5 ωι καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ Ναυαρχίδι.

During the reign of the great king of kings, Asander *philorhomaïos*, saviour, and queen Dynamis, the fleet commander Pantaleon set this up to Poseidon Sosineos and Aphrodite Nauarchis. – *CIRB* 30.

Anthony Barrett argued that this instance of *philorhomaïos* shows that Asander was self-styling himself as a friend of Rome.²⁵ There would be obvious political benefits for this on

²³ Frolova and Ireland (2002) p.6 since Asander's staters stop in 21/20 BC.

²⁴ cf. *SEG* 40:627(2) which is a dedication to Zeus Genarches.

²⁵ Barrett (1977) p.2.

the larger international stage; Rome was paying attention to the East at this point, seemingly trying to create a buffer between the Empire and Parthia through Thrace, Pontus and the Bosporan Kingdoms.²⁶ Therefore, appearing loyal to Augustus and the Roman people was a good way to keep a throne. Indeed, Cassius Dio comments that Asander revolted against Pharnakes in the hopes of gaining Rome's favour.²⁷ Furthermore, as seen with the Republican inscription above, *philia* with the Romans was clearly an accepted practice in the region. It should be noted that it is not entirely clear how kings came by the title *philorhomaioi* (see below). However, this inscription was not set up by the king, but by the fleet commander, Pantaleon. The king is named as a rough dating formula and it would appear that *philorhomaioi* was part of his royal titles. Evidently the people of the Bosporan kingdom were accepting this link with Rome and readily using such a title in their everyday lives.

6.2: Dynamis

This pattern continued under Dynamis, who was the granddaughter of Mithridates VI of Pontus and who ruled the Bosporan kingdom for a number of years, either alone or with one of her husbands. She is named in the above inscription as wife of Asander. However, in 16 BC she was married to Polemon, ruler of Pontus. The Bosporan people had rejected the pretender, Scribonius, who tried to marry Dynamis, causing Agrippa to send Polemon against him. However, the people of the Bosphorus then rejected Polemon as king, forcing Agrippa to travel to the region, illustrating again Rome's interest in the Euxine at this point.²⁸ Upon Polemon's death in 8 BC, Dynamis returned to ruling alone. She set up

²⁶ Saprykin (2005) pp.167-175.

²⁷ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 42.46.4 mentioned how Asander planned to grant favours to the Romans (τοῖς Ῥωμαίοις τι χαριούμενος) in hope that he would be granted rule of the Bosphorus, again mirroring the reciprocal exchanges and obligations associated with both Roman *amicitia*, and Greek *philia*; Konstan (1996b) p.91.

²⁸ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 54.24.4-7.

statues of Augustus and Livia in both Phanagoria and Hermonassa. These inscriptions greatly honour both members of the imperial family.²⁹

- 1 [Λιουί]α[ν] τὴν τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ γυναῖκ[α]
[β]α[σίλισσα] Δύναμις, φιλορώμαιος
[τὴν ἑαυ]τῆς εὐεργέτιν.

Livia the wife of Augustus. Queen Dynamis, *philorhomaïos* honoured her benefactor. – *CIRB* 978.

- 1 Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα θεοῦ υἱὸν
Σεβαστὸν τὸν <π>άσης γῆς καὶ
[πάσης] θαλάσσης ἄ[ρχ]οντα,
τὸν ἑαυτῆς σωτ[ῆ]ρα καὶ εὐ[ε]ργέτη[ν]
5 βασίλισσα Δύν[αμις φιλορώ]μαιος.

Imperator Caesar Augustus son of a god, ruler of all land and all sea. Queen Dynamis *philorhomaïos* honoured her saviour and benefactor. – *CIRB* 1046.

She calls Livia her benefactor, and names Augustus son of a god, ruler of all land and sea and her own saviour and benefactor (τὸν ἑαυτῆς σωτ[ῆ]ρα καὶ εὐ[ε]ργέτη[ν]). In this way, the queen is establishing a personal link to the imperial family in Rome which would tie into Tacitus' claims that foreign rulers were forging individual relationships with the Roman emperors. Rostovtzeff used such connections to claim that at this point, the region was incorporated into the Roman Empire.³⁰ However, only *philorhomaïos* appears on both inscriptions rather than *philokaisar* or *philosebastos*. These inscriptions were set up some time between 14 BC and AD 8 and it would seem that the peoples of the world were still working out where Augustus fitted in. Forging a link with Rome was a way to gain a powerful protector, and was clearly an accepted practice, but evidently people were still working out how to honour the Roman imperial family. Livia and Augustus in these inscriptions are described as saviour and benefactor, which were long established honorific

²⁹ Also *CIRB* 38. Cesarano (2013) pp.179-184.

³⁰ Rostovtzeff (1922) p.152.

titles in the Greek East,³¹ as well as ruler of all land and sea. Rather than completely new titles being made to honour Augustus and his family, they were being fitted into pre-existing local traditions.

Other inscriptions set up under Dynamis by the people show their acceptance of the *philorhomaïos* title and how it was fitted into their local traditions. For instance, *CIRB* 979 was set up in Phanagoria by the people of the city. It appears to be a statue base and it honours Dynamis herself.

- 1 [β]ασίλισσαν Δύναμιν φιλορώμ[αιον],
 [τή]ν ἐκ βασιλέω[ς μ]εγάλου Φα[ρνάκου]
 [το]ῦ ἐκ βασιλέως βασιλέων Μιθ[ραδά]-
 [το]υ Εὐπάτορος [Διο]νύσ[ο]υ,
 5 [τή]ν ἑαυτῶν σ[ώ]τειραν καὶ εὐε[ργέ]-
 [τι]ν [ὁ] δῆμ[ος ὁ Ἀγριπ]πέω[ν].

The people of Agrippea [set this up] for their saviour and benefactor, Queen Dynamis *Philorhomaïos*, daughter of Great King Pharnakes, son of the King of Kings Mithridates Eupator Dionysos. – *CIRB* 979.

This again shows that to honour one's saviour and benefactor was common practice in the Bosporan Kingdom. Here, Dynamis is honoured and her name is given as Dynamis *Philorhomaïos*. It could be argued that the people who set this up were emphasising their connection to Rome via their ruler. However, the rest of the inscription gives Dynamis' ancestry, going back to Mithridates VI who fought against Rome. The listing of ancestors appears to be a habit in the Bosporan kingdom and a similar thing can be seen on a dedication to Aphrodite Ourania set up by Myron and his wife, in Panticapeum in 9 BC – AD 7:

³¹ Erskine (1994) pp.71-76.

ὑπὲρ βασιλίσσης Δυνάμεως φιλορωμαίου,
τῆς ἐκ βασιλέως μεγάλου Φαρνάκου, τοῦ

ἐκ βασιλέως Μιθραδάτου Εὐπάτορος
Διονύσου Ἀφροδίτη Οὐρανία Ἀπατού-
ρου μεδεούση, Μύρων Μύρωνος καὶ γυνὴ Κυρί-
αινα.

Under queen Dynamis *Philorhomaïos*, daughter of the Great King Pharnakes, who is the son of king Mithridates Eupater Dionysos, to Aphrodite Ourania the ruler, Myron son of Myron and his wife, Kyriaina [set this up]. – *CIRB* 31.

These inscriptions are not the only evidence we have for Dynamis' lineage being an important part of her royal identity.³² Her coinage also emphasises her connection to Mithridates VI of Pontus (Fig.57).



Figure 57. Coin of Dynamis depicting the queen on the obverse and a star and crescent on the reverse. Image from Rostovtzeff (1919) Pl. IV.4.

³² Primo (2010) pp.159-169, 178.

The design imitates those minted by Dynamis' grandfather in his war against Rome. This design has been thought to be a reference to the Persian gods of Mithra and Auramazda, who are traditionally depicted wearing diadems with the same symbols.³³ Such ideas were made popular by M. Rostovtzeff and his concerns with the Bosporan rulers' relationships to their Iranian subjects.³⁴ However, questions should be asked as to whether the coins' Bosporan audiences would have also had access to Persian imagery and ideas. What is known for certain, through the examination of everyday inscriptions, is that the people of the Bosphorus were emphasising Dynamis' link to Mithridates.³⁵ Therefore, in this context, the reading of these coins as recalling this familial link makes far more sense. Evidently, the people of this region had no qualms about thinking of their rulers as both friends of Rome, and also related to a ruler who famously rebelled against Rome.³⁶

The title *philorhomaïos* had different meanings and interpretations depending on the context, dedicator and audience. Olivier Hekster and Richard Fowler have argued that messages portrayed by rulers can be multidimensional, with different audiences creating different reactions and conversations.³⁷ Accordingly, messages can be sent to subjects, enemies and rivals who can then respond, and influence future messages sent by rulers, who are also engaged in how their predecessors presented themselves. This can be observed with the *philorhomaïos* title; in the context of honouring Augustus and Livia, *philorhomaïos* can easily be interpreted as having a political message: one of loyalty from Queen Dynamis. However, comparing this to inscriptions set up by the people of the Bosporan kingdom shows that this was part of her royal titulature and it was being used in everyday life, alongside the Bosporan traditions for honouring saviours and benefactors

³³ Rostovtzeff (1919) pp.92-93.

³⁴ Rostovtzeff (1919) p.95.

³⁵ Nawotka (1989) p.328-329 emphasised that Dynamis herself was making this link to Mithridates VI in these inscriptions.

³⁶ Primo (2010) p.167 argued that Dynamis only emphasised her Mithridatic connection within the Bosporan kingdom, whilst elsewhere she emphasised her submission to Rome.

³⁷ Fowler and Hekster (2005) pp.17-38.

and giving the ancestry of their rulers. Dynamis could be both loyal to Rome and also belong to the Bosporan people with its own history and traditions.³⁸ Furthermore, Dynamis' predecessor had used the title *philorhomaïos* and to be in the *philia* of the Romans had been taking place in diplomatic practices within the region for at least one hundred and fifty years by this point. Thus, it could also be the case that this was a well-established practice and one that gave Dynamis legitimacy in the eyes of her subjects.

6.3: Aspurgos and Tiberius

As time went on, *philorhomaïos* seems to have been a royal title in the Bosporan kingdom, rather than implying any individual relationship with the emperor. It was under Aspurgos that *Philokaisar* entered into inscriptions.³⁹ At some point in his reign, an individual called Menestratos set up a dedication to the king.

- 1 βασιλέα μέγαν Ασποῦργον φιλωρώμαιον, τὸν ἐκ βασιλέως Ἀσανδρόχου,
 φιλοκαίσαρα καὶ φιλωρώμαιον, βασιλεύοντα παντὸς Βοοσπόρου, Θεοδοσίας
 καὶ Σίνδων καὶ Μαϊτῶν καὶ Ταρπείων καὶ Τορετῶν, Ψησῶν τε καὶ Τανα[ε]ϊτῶν,
 ὑποτάξαντα Σκύθας καὶ Ταύρους, Μενέστρατος β' ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς νήσ[σ]ου {²⁶νήσου}²⁶
 τὸν ἑαυτοῦ σω-
 5 τῆρα καὶ εὐεργέτην.

Great king Aspurgos, friend of Rome, son of King Asandrochos,
 Friend of Caesar and friend of Rome, ruling all of the Bosporus, Theodosia
 And the Sindoi and Maiotoi and Tarpeitoi and Toretoi, Upsesi and Tanariti,
 Having defeated the Scythians and Taurians. Menestratos in charge of the island
 for the second time, set this up for his saviour and benefactor. – *CIRB* 40.

Aspurgos is mentioned as the son of king Asandrochos; while Dynamis had been married to an individual named Asander, no other evidence survives for an Asandrochos. Asander's name survives in other inscriptions as Ἀσάνδρος.⁴⁰ Therefore, it seems unlikely that this is the same individual. Furthermore, another inscription exists which calls Asander *βασιλέως*

³⁸ Heinen (2008a) p.189.

³⁹ There is no mention of Aspurgus in any surviving literature.

⁴⁰ e.g. *CIRB* 30 (See above).

Ἀσανδρόχου υἱός,⁴¹ meaning that this is not a mistake by the stonecutter. Since no mention is made of his descent from Mithridates VI Eupator, it is a possibility that Aspurgos is not the son of Dynamis and Asander.⁴² However, it is then not clear how he became ruler of the region.

Aspurgos seems to have ruled AD 10/11 – 37/38.⁴³ The emperor Tiberius had granted Aspurgos his crown in AD 16 when the king travelled to Rome. Heinz Heinen has stated that this voyage was so that Aspurgos could congratulate the new *princeps* and celebrate his new title of *philokaisar*.⁴⁴ It would make sense that Aspurgos would feel *gratia* towards the emperor. In this way, *philokaisar* could imply a personal relationship with Tiberius. The fact that all kings following Aspurgos had the name Tiberius Julius shows that the Roman emperor also granted this king Roman citizenship in AD 16. The inscription with its new adoption of *philokaisar* title for the king Aspurgos also suggests that at this point it had been made clear that Rome would now be ruled by the imperial family of Augustus and so traditions were being altered in order to accommodate this. Once again, this inscription was set up by one of the subjects of the Bosporan kingdom, rather than the king. Yet while *philokaisar* appears alongside the other royal titles, the fact that the inscription reads *philorhomaïos...philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* with a repetition of *philorhomaïos* indicates that this was formulaic in nature. It is possible that ‘friend of Caesar and Rome’ was a phrase that had been seen elsewhere and added onto the other royal titles, which already included ‘friend of Rome.’ This new phrase was being worked into pre-existing accepted traditions and titles by the people of the Bosphorus, with varying results. The idea that this was not a universally ordered title but something that was being worked out is confirmed

⁴¹ Published in Heinen (2008a) p.192. The stone is a dedication of a statue of Eros made by the king to Aphrodite Urania in thanks for divine favour.

⁴² *Contra* Conole and Milns (1983) p.188.

⁴³ Heinen (2008a) p.192.

⁴⁴ Heinen (2008a) p.199.

by the fact that a manumission record from Phanagoria in AD 16, after Aspurgos had travelled to Rome, names the king only as *Philorhomaïos* (see below).⁴⁵

Arguments about *philokaisar* titles often focus around how the kings would have been granted the title, and permission to use it by Rome. It is a generally held belief that when it came to neighbouring kings, *philokaisar* was granted by Rome and had legal connotations,⁴⁶ which very much places Rome in the superior position and the kings in the inferior, or 'client' role. Indeed, it has been suggested by Altay Coşkun that the 'weaker' party in diplomatic *philia* took the *philo*-title.⁴⁷ Krzysztof Nawotka believed that when Aspurgos travelled to Rome in AD 16, an '*amicitia* treaty' was signed as well, explaining the sudden appearance of *philokaisar*.⁴⁸ He claimed that such a title could only be bestowed by the Roman Emperor and that people could not use it freely,⁴⁹ which is strongly argued against by David Braund.⁵⁰ With relation to the granting of *philorhomaïos* titles, Margherita Facella has also argued that *philorhomaïos* does not mean that the ruler was officially named as an *amicus populi Romani* by the Senate, but instead, it was a way for rulers and individuals to display their positive relations towards Rome in the hopes that they might be honoured in such a way.⁵¹

Yet, evidence from the Greek East shows cities and assemblies granting the title to individuals who had benefited the community in some way, either through acclamation or by vote,⁵² rather than it being something controlled by Rome. This was the case on Cos, where other variations of the *philokaisar* titles have been found to include *philoneron* and

⁴⁵ *CIRB* 985.

⁴⁶ Buraselis (2000) p.102.

⁴⁷ Coşkun (2008) p.17.

⁴⁸ Nawotka (1989) p.329.

⁴⁹ Nawotka (1989) p.329.

⁵⁰ Braund (1984) p.107.

⁵¹ Facella (2010) pp.186-191.

⁵² Buraselis (2000) pp.105-106. However, the evidence cited is evidence for *philopatris* being awarded by vote. Yet, Buraselis argued that it would be logical for *philokaisar* titles to be included in this process.

philoklaudios.⁵³ Fifty-seven surviving instances of *philoklaudios* have been found, and five of *philoneron*. In this context, Sherwin-White has noted that many Coan elites had been granted the title *philokaisar*.⁵⁴ In one inscription, an individual named Gaius Stertinius Xenophon, a doctor whom Tacitus implicated in the death of Claudius,⁵⁵ is given the titles of *philokaisar*, *philosebastos*, *philoneron* and *philorhomaïos*,⁵⁶ demonstrating that there were regional and chronological variations to these titles.⁵⁷ Kostas Buraselis has argued that *philokaisar* demonstrates a personal attachment to the emperor by those who were awarded the titles, since this was an early version of *philosebastos* on Cos, which was more institutional.⁵⁸ The names of individual emperors also suggest a far more personal relationship than the institutional one that seems to have been developing in the Bosporan kingdom, demonstrating the malleability of *philia* or *amicitia* as tools with which to form relationships with individuals, cities or *nationes*. Accordingly, on Cos, *philosebastos* was more commonly used when referring to bodies such as the *demos*, rather than individuals.⁵⁹ This is further evidence that diplomatic friendships under the Roman Principate could be between bodies rather than individuals, as depicted in the literary sources. However, as has been observed, this was not the case in the Bosporan kingdom. *Philosebastos* has yet to be found in the surviving epigraphic records so it cannot be said that *philokaisar* was used in a different way to *philosebastos* here. Nor was *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* a universal title with identical meanings to all audiences, but one specific to the Bosporan region that showed its reaction to the Roman state and adaptation of the practice of diplomatic friendships. Given the *ad hoc* nature of the Roman Empire's administration, it would seem unlikely that there was one single way of conferring

⁵³ Nutton (1977) p.196.

⁵⁴ Sherwin-White (1978) p.152.

⁵⁵ Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.67.

⁵⁶ *I.Cos* EV 241.

⁵⁷ Van der Ploeg (2018) pp.87-107.

⁵⁸ Buraselis (2000) pp.102-103.

⁵⁹ Buraselis (2000) p.104.

friendship upon kings or peoples, or indeed, expressing it. Even if this was a universal diplomatic tool of the Roman state, how it was used and expressed seems to have varied from region to region.

As mentioned above, several inscriptions from the reign of Aspurgos do not contain the *philokaisar* title, even after his visit to Rome in AD 16. In a manumission record, *Philorhomaïos* appears alongside *basileos* before giving the month and year.

1 [β]ασιλεύοντος [βα]-
[σ]ιλέως Ἀσπούργο[υ]
φιλορωμαίου, ἔτους
γιτ, μηνὸς Δαισίου ζ.
5 [Φ]όδακος Πόθωνος ἀ-
[ν]ατίθησι τὸν ἑαυτοῦ
[θρ]επτὸν Διονύσιον
[τ]ὸν καὶ Λογ[γ]ίωνα ἐ-
[πὶ] τῆς προσευχῆς Ἀπόλ-
1
0 [λωνι — — — — —]η.λτ
[— — — — —]ασ
[— — — — —]κτη
[— — — — —]
[— — — — —]
1
5 [— — — — —]αν
[— — — — —]Λυσ.
[— — — — —]νθε
[— — — — —]της θω-
[π]εῖ[ας ἕνεκα καὶ] προσ-
2
0 [κ]αρ[τερή]σεως.

During the reign of king Aspurgos *Philorhomaïos*, in the year 313 and the 7th month of Daisios. Phodakos Pothenos set up his house-slave Dionysios and Longiona in the sanctuary of Apollo ... on account of flattery and ... - *CIRB* 985.

This inscription comes from the city of Phanagoria and dates to AD 16/17, after Aspurgos' trip to Rome where his title was supposedly conferred upon him by Tiberius. Therefore, it is odd that *philokaisar* should be missing if it truly was an official title that indicated a contract or treaty had been signed. The second inscription mentioning his father as

Asandrochos also only calls Aspurgos *philorhomaïos*.⁶⁰ A further inscription which formed a temple architrave in Panticapaeum, dating to AD 23/24 also does not contain the *philokaisar* title, just *philorhomaïos*.⁶¹

βασιλεῖ μεγάλῳ Ἀσπούργῳ φιλωρωμαίῳ, τῷ[ι — — — — — — — — — —
 — — —]
 βασιλεύοντι παντὸς Βοσπόρου καὶ Θεοδοσίας κα[ὶ Σίνδων καὶ Μαῖτῶν καὶ
 Ταρπεῖτων καὶ Τορετῶν]
 Ψησῶν τε καὶ Ταναΐτων, ὑποτάξαντι Σκύθας κα[ὶ Ταύρους — — — — — — — — — —
 — — —]
 τῷ ἑαυτοῦ σωτῆρι καὶ εὐεργέτῃ καθιέρωσε [— — — — — — — — — — — — — —
 — — —]
 ἐν τῷ κτ' ἔτε[ι καὶ μηνὶ —
 — — —]

To the great king Aspurgos friend of the Romans, the...
 ruling all of the Bosphorus and Theodosia and [the Sindoi and Maiotoi and Tarpeitoi
 and Toretoi,]
 Upsi and Tanariti, having defeated the Scythians and [Taurians...]
 ... Dedicates this to (Aspurgos) who is his personal saviour and benefactor...
 In the 320th year and month... - *CIRB* 39.

With the above inscription, there is the possibility that the *philokaisar* appears in the *lacuna*. However, other inscriptions do show that this formula was not universal at this point. The fact that variations of the *philokaisar* title were still not being used some seven years after Aspurgos was supposedly granted permission to use the title by Tiberius would suggest that 'permission' to use it was not granted in AD 16. Indeed, the date on *CIRB* 39 and the similarity of the text to *CIRB* 40, but the difference in the *philo*- titles would imply that it was at some point after AD 23 that the *philokaisar* title was used.⁶² Yet the time period between this and his official visit to Rome would imply that rather than this being something that Aspurgos was granted by the Roman emperor and Senate and emphasised by the king to show his loyalty to Rome, it was a title, possibly honorific, that the people of his kingdom chose when and where to use.

⁶⁰ Heinen (2008a) p.192: Βασιλεὺς Ἀσπούργος φιλωρῳμαῖος / βασιλέως Ἀσανδρόχου υἱὸς / τὸν Ἐρωτα Ἀφροδείτῃ Οὐ-/ρανίαι Ἀπατούρου μεδεοῦ-/σηι χαριστήριον.

⁶¹ Heinen (2008a) p.196.

⁶² Heinen (2008a) p.198.

This title mirrors ideas displayed on Aspurgos' coinage. Regardless of how the title came to be used, Aspurgos did seem to be keen to emphasise his connection to Rome. The coinage minted under Aspurgos features many instances of busts of the Roman emperor: gold coins featuring the head of Tiberius on the obverse and the head of Aspurgos on the reverse have been found at fourteen locations in the Bosporan kingdom,⁶³ showing that the coins and the images on them circulated widely. One example remains of Tiberius with a laureate head (Fig.58).



Figure 58. *RPC I*, 1903. Coin of Aspurgos depicting laureate Tiberius right and ΤΙΒΕΡΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ on the obverse and Rhescuporis with his monogram BAP on the reverse. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/tiberius/RPC_1903.jpg.

Wallace-Hadrill wrote that the bust of an emperor, combined with the image on the reverse, was a symbol of power and gave coinage value.⁶⁴ These coins do not come from inside the Roman state. Yet, the kingdom's dependency on Rome is often emphasised in discussion of such coins, especially by Højberg Bjerg who published works on the coinage of the kingdom in 2014.⁶⁵ Questions are raised over how 'non-Roman' audiences would read coins with the emperor's head on. It should be remembered that such images could have different messages depending on the audience and their background and expectations

⁶³ Højberg Bjerg (2014) p.54. n.213.

⁶⁴ Wallace-Hadrill (1986) p.69; Crawford (1983) pp.47-64.

⁶⁵ Højberg Bjerg (2014) p.192.

from the king.⁶⁶ Was it the case that the above coin emphasised to Aspurgos' subjects that the Bosporan kingdom was submissive to Rome, and that Tiberius had granted Aspurgos his title as well as permission to mint such coins? Comparing the imagery on the coin itself with imagery and ideas that were already circulating in other types of evidence would seem to indicate that these coins, when they showed the Roman emperor, were not simply examples of submission that drew on Roman iconography and ideas of power but also displayed ideas of Bosporan power and traditions. Imagery on coins did not just inform an audience but supported what they already knew.⁶⁷ This coin depicts both Tiberius as Roman Emperor and Aspurgos as the Bosporan king and both wear trappings of office: Tiberius is laureate and Aspurgos emphasises his royal status through his diadem, a long-accepted trapping of royal power.⁶⁸ While Tiberius' name is given, Aspurgos' royal authority is not ignored as the royal monogram is seen in the field to the left of his head. The use of a monogram rather than a full name has previously been taken as evidence for a yielding to the Roman state.⁶⁹ However, monograms were common on coinage in this region since before the establishment of the Principate.⁷⁰ Thus, instead of being a symbol of the king's lesser status, it shows Aspurgos following the traditions of past rulers of the Bosporan kingdom, which Richard Fowler and Olivier Hekster argued is a way to gain legitimacy in the eyes of one's subjects.⁷¹ The portrait of Aspurgos also is not 'Classical': he has long hair and wears a royal diadem. He appears in local style. In this instance, the coinage can inform users of a close relationship with Rome as well as Aspurgos' adherence to past traditions in the region, through his hairstyle, diadem and royal monogram.

⁶⁶ Fowler and Hekster (2005) pp.17-38.

⁶⁷ Crawford (1983) pp.47-64; Wallace-Hadrill (1986) p.68.

⁶⁸ Fowler and Hekster (2005) p.12.

⁶⁹ Højberg Bjerg (2014) p.192 argues that because kings start using their full names after the death of Nero, instead of royal monograms, Roman interest in the area was decreasing.

⁷⁰ Frolova and Ireland (2002) p.3 mentioned coins dating from 90 – 80 BC bearing monograms of cities. Dynamis then issued coins with a monogram in 9/8 BC – AD 7/8 (Frolova and Ireland (2002) p.6).

⁷¹ Fowler and Hekster (2005) pp.23-24.

The imagery here could be playing upon accepted notions of kingship within the Bosphoran kingdom and ideas about the king's relationship to Rome: this coin confirms that Aspurgos had a relationship of some sort with Rome and with the emperor. The people of the Bosphoran kingdom were already setting up inscriptions naming Aspurgos *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos*. This was a known and accepted fact. If Rome had been a source of legitimacy for past rulers, this extra title would have added another layer of this to Aspurgos. Pharnakes, Asander and Dynamis had merely been *philorhomaïos*, and naming Aspurgos as *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* implied a closer bond to Rome than previous rulers.⁷² It shows how kings could use and adapt the ideas of their predecessors as a way to gain greater legitimacy in the eyes of their subjects and on an international stage. Furthermore, given the fact that Aspurgos seemingly was not related to Mithridates VI, he needed to find another way to legitimise his position, which a relationship with Tiberius could provide.

Yet the honorific inscriptions also describe the extent of his rule which once again, could be a way to justify and explain Aspurgos' reign. Bronzes also depict Ares and a trophy (Fig.59), which again mirrors *CIRB* 40 set up under his reign which lists his achievements in battle: *ὑποτάξαντα Σκύθας καὶ Ταύρους*.⁷³



Figure 59. *RPC* I, 1902. Coin of Aspurgos showing helmeted head of Ares right on the obverse and a trophy with the king's monogram on the reverse. Image from Frolova and Ireland (2002) pl.XLVI.13.

⁷² Heinen (2008a) p.200.

⁷³ *CIRB* 40.

Furthermore, the inscription gives the extent of Aspurgos' power in terms of territory. The coins depicting both Roman emperor and Bosporan king depict Aspurgos with his diadem, emphasising his own power and traditions as well as his relationship with Rome in much the same way that this inscription does.⁷⁴ Thus, these coins did not inform Aspurgos' subjects of their submissive status in relation to Rome. Instead, they repeated and reinforced a relationship with Rome but also the traditions of the Bosporan kingdom and the power of their king, as also seen in the epigraphic evidence.

Gold coins showing the head of Caligula appeared following the death of Tiberius (fig.60), illustrating that it was not just with Tiberius that Aspurgos had this relationship: *philokaisar* would continue to his heir as well. However, it is not known if Aspurgos travelled to Rome or had dealings with Caligula in the same way as Tiberius. Therefore, *Philokaisar* was now becoming more of a mark of Bosporan royalty than it was an indicator of a personal relationship between king and emperor.



Figure 60. *RPC I*, 1904. Coin of Aspurgos depicting Caligula right and ΓΑΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΓΕΡΜΑΝΙΚΟΥ on the obverse and Aspurgos with his monogram BAP on the reverse. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/caligula/RPC_1904.jpg.

6.4: Mithridates III and Cotys

Following the death of Caligula and accession of Claudius, the throne of the Bosphorus was granted to Mithridates III. However, there is little epigraphic evidence dating

⁷⁴ Heinen (2008a) p.194.

to his reign and no evidence that he used the *philokaisor* or *philoromaios* epithet; Nawotka argued that this is evidence that Mithridates was not supported by the Roman Senate.⁷⁵ He is mentioned by Tacitus and Cassius Dio who describe how the king desired independence from Rome. According to Dio, Mithridates sent his brother, Cotys, to Claudius in order to disguise his preparations for war.⁷⁶ However, Cotys then betrayed his brother with Rome's support and so Mithridates waged war. As discussed above, Cassius Dio claims that Cotys was sent to Rome with 'friendly words' (*φιλίους λόγους*), again demonstrating how the language of friendship was used in diplomatic dealings, even when no such titles existed (See Chapter 5.3). According to Tacitus,⁷⁷ Mithridates sought outside support from Eunones, who was a prince of the neighbouring Aorsi. When his army had been defeated near the Tanais, Mithridates again sought aid from Eunones. Tacitus describes his reasons for doing this as:

Frater Cotys, proditor olim, deinde hostis, metuebatur; Romanorum nemo id auctoritatis aderat, ut promissa eius magni penderentur. ad Eunonen convertit, propriis odiis [non] infensum et recens coniuncta nobiscum amicitia validum.

He feared his brother Cotys, once a traitor and then an enemy. None of the Romans who held authority were present to give greatness to his promises. He turned to Eunones, who was not enraged against him by private hatred, and who was made powerful by his recently formed friendship with us. – Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.18.

The use of *coniuncta...amicitia* has connotations of a marriage in other texts⁷⁸ but it is used extensively by Cicero in relation to friendship, both personal and in terms of international relations. For instance, he described how the people of Sicily were connected with the Roman people not only by a perpetual alliance and friendship, but also by some relationship.⁷⁹ Thus, Tacitus saw Eunones as a friend of Rome in some way. It is not clear if this means that Eunones had been granted an *amicus sociusque* title, whether he had

⁷⁵ Nawotka (1989) p.331.

⁷⁶ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 60.28.7.

⁷⁷ Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.15-21.

⁷⁸ Vergil, *Ecloga*, 8.32; Varro, *Res Rusticae*, 1.17.5.

⁷⁹ Cicero, *In Verrem*, 2.4.33: *cum populo Romano non solum perpetua societate atque amicitia, verum etiam coognitione.*

claimed one for himself, or whether the author simply describes relations with foreign kings and diplomats in this way. What is interesting is that Tacitus uses the phrase *nobiscum* rather than highlighting a personal relationship between the king and emperor. Evidently being a friend of the Roman emperor was not necessarily portrayed as of greater importance than being a friend of the Roman people (See Chapter 5.4). However, diplomatic relationships could still be personal, as Mithridates sought out Eunones because he did not harbour ill will towards him, as well as for tactical advantage. This short passage also shows that, according to Tacitus, being a friend of Rome would gain rulers benefits on the international stage, as Tacitus highlighted that Eunones was also sought out by Mithridates on account of his recent friendship with Rome, which had significantly increased his power. This is supported by the Republican inscription from the region⁸⁰ (See 6.1) whereby both parties could remain on good terms as long as both maintained *philia* with the Roman people (see 6.1). It is also attested by Cassius Dio, who describes how the Medians and Iazyges sought Hadrian's help in controlling his 'friend', Pharasmanes II of the Iberii, when he invaded their lands⁸¹ (See 5.2). Furthermore, when Tacitus claims that Eunones wrote a letter to Claudius on Mithridates' behalf, as mentioned above, he shows that he believed that kings saw their friendships with the Romans as personal ones with the emperor, and that they were based on equal rank and fortune.⁸²

Another development of the Bosporan ruler's relationship with Rome and the emperor is seen under Cotys I, the brother of Mithridates who was named king by Claudius. It is under him that the *tria nomina* first appears in inscriptions in the Bosporan kingdom. In AD 57 a dedication was set up in Panticapeum and the king's rule and titles are used as a dating system.

1 βασιλεύοντος βασι-

⁸⁰ *IosPE* I²402.

⁸¹ Cassius Dio, *Historiae Romanae*, 69.15.1-2.

⁸² Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.18.

5 λέως Τιβερίου Ἰουλί-
 ου Κότυος φιλοκαίσα-
 ρος καὶ φιλορωμαίου,
 εὐσεβοῦς, [ἔ]τους
 δντ, μηνὸς Δαεισί-
 ου ι', [Ἡ]δεῖα Ν[.]στέ[ους] γυ-

During the reign of king Tiberius Julius Cotys, *philokaisar* and *philoromaïos*, pious, in the year 354 and month of Daeisios, Hedeia... - CIRB 69.

It contains *philokaisar* and *philoromaïos*⁸³ but it also names the king Tiberius Julius Cotys.

Cotys' family gained citizenship from Tiberius, yet the *tria nomina* do not appear until AD 57. Given that Claudius had aided Cotys in the war against his brother, this could well be a reaction to these events and a way to show his *gratia* towards the Roman emperor, or to emphasise that he has the protection of Rome. It is also during the reign of Cotys that the king as high priest of the cult of the emperor appears.⁸⁴ This position was then held by subsequent kings of the Bosporan kingdom.⁸⁵

The coinage of Cotys, which circulated widely across the kingdom, also seems to have Rome in mind far more than that of his predecessors. His gold coins depict Claudius, Britannicus, Agrippina, and Nero (Fig.61). The emperor of Rome also appears for the first time on Bosporan bronzes, with their names in the legends. This has led to Højberg Bjerg stating that "The motifs on Kotys I's gold coinage show his submission to the Romans and their presence in the Bosporan kingdom."⁸⁶ Tiberius Claudius Caesar is depicted with his name in the genitive alongside Iulia Agrippina Caesar and these are the coins that were widely distributed.⁸⁷

⁸³ All inscriptions mentioning Cotys I call him *philokaisar kai philoromaïos* except one: CIRB 985.

⁸⁴ CIRB 41.

⁸⁵ Heinen (2008a) pp.201-204.

⁸⁶ Højberg Bjerg (2014) p.189.

⁸⁷ Højberg Bjerg (2014) p.61.



Figure 61. RPC 1925, coin of Cotys depicting Claudius and Agrippina. TI ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟΥ ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ, laureate head of Claudius right on obverse. ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝ ΑΓΡΙΠΠΙΝΑΝ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗΝ, draped bust of Agrippina II left with monogram of Cotys I on reverse. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/agrippina_II/RPC_1925.jpg.

After the death of Claudius, Nero and Poppaea replaced Claudius and Agrippina on the coinage. Furthermore, Cotys' own portrait does not appear on these gold staters, as seen above. However, his royal monogram does still appear, at least until Nero's annexation in AD 62. Other coins of Cotys also depict him diademed alongside Britannikos Kaiser, again with his name in the genitive (Fig.62).



Figure 62. RPC 1926. Coin of Cotys. ΚΑΙΣΑΡΟΣ ΒΡΙΤΑΝΝΙΚΟΣ, bare head of Britannicus right on obverse. Diademed head of Cotys right, BAK monogram to left, H in right on reverse. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/britannicus/RPC_1926.jpg.

The audience of such coins and titulature is important when considering their messages. It should also be noted that Claudius had left Roman garrisons in the kingdom.⁸⁸ Thus, it is possible that Cotys was also appealing to these soldiers, encouraging them to use local money by depicting familiar ideas. While Roman coins have been found within the

⁸⁸ Tacitus, *Annales*, 12.16

Bosporan kingdom, their own local currency system is far more closed than others in the empire and it seems that local money was favoured, meaning that it would make sense that newly garrisoned Roman soldiers would be encouraged to use these coins in place of 'Roman' ones by depicting imagery similar to that seen on coins elsewhere in the empire. Other coins of Cotys depict *ornamenta consularia* which acted as *timai* sent to kings.⁸⁹ This was a mark of Cotys' royal authority and it would make sense that he would be keen to reaffirm this notion in the minds of his subjects; it would also serve as a reminder to the Roman garrisons that he was still in charge. Furthermore, it was not simply the case that all of Cotys' coins were designed with Rome in mind. A temple with five columns, probably referring to the temple of Aphrodite Urania which the king dedicated in Pantacepeum also appears (Fig.63).⁹⁰



Figure 63. Dupondi of Cotys depicting a temple of Aphrodite Urania with five columns and a royal monogram. Image from Frolova and Ireland (2002) Pl. LVIII.20.

Such a symbol would be understood by a range of different audiences as a mark of his piety and also of his wealth and munificence, both to his subjects and to the goddess.

Dedications to Aphrodite were common throughout the kingdom, this was an easy way to gain legitimacy for Cotys through piety to the goddess.

⁸⁹ Braund (1984) pp.27-29.

⁹⁰ Frolova and Ireland (2002) pp.82-84.

While Cotys does appear to have advertised the role of the Roman emperors more than past kings on his coinage, he does not wholly ignore his own power; his monogram and diadem are still present, as is the Bosporan style on Cotys' portrait. Rather than being wholly submissive to Rome as suggested by Højberg Bjerg, Cotys was in fact still displaying some semblance of authority in the Bosporan kingdom. It should be remembered that by this point, friendship with Rome had been advertised by the Bosporan rulers for several generations and was readily accepted and adapted by their subjects. Therefore, advertising Roman emperors and the imperial family need not be a sign of submission. Considering Fig.62 also depicted Cotys alongside Claudius' son, Britannicus, it could well be the case that Cotys was displaying the fact that his relationship with Rome would continue to future dynastic generations. Therefore, this coinage in fact proclaimed a relationship with the Roman emperors to an international audience; it continued a long-established tradition in the region of maintaining friendship with Rome; and it looked to the future, claiming that these traditions would be continued. Cotys may have owed his throne to Claudius, but rather than this being a symbol of submission, Rome and the imperial family could be read as a way for the king to gain legitimacy.

Under Nero in AD 62 the kingdom was seemingly annexed to the Empire. From this time, the royal monogram of Cotys disappears from his gold coins and is replaced by that of Nero (fig.64).



Figure 64. RPC 1933. *NEPQNOC KAICAROC*, laureate head right. *K-D* (value) to left and right of Nike walking left, holding wreath and palm. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/nero/RPC_1933var.jpg.

It could be that the Bosphoran moneyers were trying to appeal to Nero, but it is also a possibility that a Roman official had now been installed and so was responsible for minting these coins. This is because other monograms appeared from this time which were not those of Cotys or Nero, and following Nero's debasement of AD 62, new coin types started to appear in the Bosphoran kingdom, implying a much greater degree of Roman control than had previously been the case.⁹¹

6.5: Rhescuporis I and Reactions to the Flavians

Rhescuporis I was the son of Cotys I and Eunice. He ruled AD 68-90, having convinced Galba to return the kingdom to himself and his Greek mother, Eunice, following Nero. It has been pointed out by Nawotka that the formula used by all later kings until the third century AD was developed under Rhescuporis.⁹² This saw the king using the *tria nomina* and then the *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* titles. *Eusebes* also appears after the *philo-* epithets in several inscriptions, and the uses of these range from statue bases honouring Vespasian (see below),⁹³ dedications to gods set up by inhabitants of the

⁹¹ Højberg Bjerg (2014) pp.191-192.

⁹² Nawotka (1989) p.333.

⁹³ *CIRB*, 1047.

Bosporus,⁹⁴ or manumission records.⁹⁵ Often, Tiberius Julius Rhescuporis, *Philokaisar kai Philorhomaïos, Eusebes*, is simply used as a dating method. By this point, the titles were habitual rather than being used to make a political statement about close personal relationships with the Roman emperor.

Philokaisar kai philorhomaïos and the development of this title in the Bosporan Kingdom helps to show this region's reaction to the rise of Augustus and the Julio-Claudian family. The habitual use of these titles and the imagery seen on coinage shows that connections to Rome were an important part of the Bosporan royalty's authority, and this was understood by the wider population. Yet, this relationship was not the only message propagated by the monarchs, and their relationships with Rome were not simply submissive but part of a wider pattern of ideas about royal power in the region. However, there is evidence again, when Vespasian came to power, of the people on the edge of the Roman world trying to work out the new emperor's position. A statue base honouring Vespasian was found in Pantecapeum.

- 1 Αὐτοκράτορα Οὐεσπασιανὸν Καίσαρα Σε[βαστόν, ἀρχιερέα μέγιστον],
[α]ὐ[τοκρ]άτορα τὸ ς', πατέρα πατρίδος, [ὑπατον τὸ γ', ἀποδεδειγμένον τὸ δ'],
κ[ύρι]ον τοῦ σύμπαντος Βοοσπόρου [— — — — — βασιλεύοντος]
[βασιλ]έως {ως} εὐσεβῶς τοῦ ἐκ προ[γόνων βασιλέων Τιβερίου Ἰουλίου]
- 5 Ρησκουπ[όρι]δος βασιλέως Ἰουλίου [Κότυος καὶ βασιλίσσης Εὐνείκης?]
υἱοῦ, φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φιλωρ[ω]μαίου, εὐσεβοῦς, ἀρχιερέως τῶν Σεβαστῶν]
διὰ βίου καὶ εὐεργέτου τῆς πατρ[ίδος].

Imperator Vespasian Caesar Augustus, Pontifex Maximus, hailed emperor for the sixth time, father of the fatherland, consul for the fourth time, master of all the Bosporus... During the reign of king who is pious from his royal forefathers, king Tiberius Julius Rhescuporis son of king Julius Cotys and queen Eunice, *philokaisar* and *philorhomaïos*, pious high priest of the Sebastoi for life and benefactor of his country. — *CIRB* 1047.

⁹⁴ *CIRB*, 986 is a dedication to Artemis set up in Phanagoria in AD 79. *CIRB*, 76 is a dedication to Zeus and Hera in Panticapaeum in AD 82.

⁹⁵ *CIRB*, 70 records one Xrestes, wife of Drusus setting free her house-slaves in Panticapaeum in AD 81.

In this inscription, it can be seen that Rhescuporis is given the *tria nomina*, along with the title *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi*, while his father, Cotys, is simply called Julius Cotys. This, accompanied by the praise given to Vespasian who is hailed as master of all the Bosphorus, which is again a traditional title seen in earlier inscriptions, makes it seem that the people of the Bosphorus are emphasising their connection to the Roman world. Rhescuporis was also the high priest of the local imperial cult, in keeping with local tradition by this point.⁹⁶ Furthermore, he is also benefactor of his country which has been seen in several inscriptions above. His legitimacy is derived from his royal ancestors who are also named: king Julius Cotys and queen Eunice. Given the formulaic nature of these titles, these inscriptions cannot be used as evidence for a close personal relationship with Rome or the emperor any longer.

However, the way Vespasian is presented can show further evidence of the people of the Empire working out how to honour Vespasian, whose power did not derive from the Julio-Claudian dynasty. This is seen in the lack of ancestors given for Vespasian, and the fact that all of his Roman titles are also given, in clear contrast with Rhescuporis, whose royal forefathers are mentioned. Vespasian is also called master of the whole Bosphorus (*κύριον τοῦ σύμπαντος Βοσπόρου*) as if justification for his honours is needed beyond his position as Roman emperor. This inscription honours both Vespasian's titles and Rhescuporis' ancestry, showing from where each ruler obtained his authority.

6.6: Sauromates

The phrase *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* appears in all subsequent kings and queens of the kingdom. It appears to be a habitual title, rather than a great declaration of a personal relationship with the reigning emperor as Tacitus had portrayed. The title was used by the people of the region as readily as the rulers and there seems to have been a certain degree of grassroots reaction to the title in this regard, as demonstrated by the

⁹⁶ Heinen (2008a) pp.201-204.

clumsy repetition of *philorhomaïos* on the inscription honouring Aspurgos. Under Sauromates (r.AD 90-123) a Latin inscription was set up using similar titles. This inscription is a statue base in Panticapeum, but was set up in Latin, yet still calls Sauromates friend of the emperor and of the Roman people.

*regem · Tiberium · Iulium · Sau-
romaten · ami-
cum · Imperatoris · popu-
lique · Romani · praestan-
tissimum colonia · Iulia · Felix · Sinope ·
ex · decurionum · decreto ·*

the king Tiberius Iulius Saruomates, friend of the emperor and Roman people, greatly excelling. The colony Iulia Felix Sinope by decree of the decurions [set up this statue] – *CIRB 46*.

If this inscription was seen from a Roman perspective, it would appear that *Imperator populusque Romanus* was replacing *Senatus populusque Romanus*. However, seen against the backdrop of the *philokaisar kai philoromaïos* inscriptions throughout the Bosporan kingdom, it is more probable that this is a Latin translation of the Greek epithets. In this case, it would suggest that *amicitia* is a direct translation of *philia*, rather than describing different emotions and practices,⁹⁷ demonstrating how widespread and well understood this phenomenon of diplomatic friendship was. What is more, this inscription was not set up by the people of the Bosporan kingdom but by the Roman citizens of the colony of Felix Sinope, on the south coast of the Black Sea (Fig.3). This is the point in which Arrian began his *periplus* of the Euxine (see Chapter 2.2). Therefore, this inscription shows the reaction of the surrounding peoples on the Black Sea to the Bosporan kings. By now these titles had become a standard formulaic title for the Bosporan kings, regardless of audience.

⁹⁷ *Philia* was a type of love in Greek, whereas Cicero often wrote than love (*amor*) was simply one part of *amicitia* (*De Amicitia*, 19). See Chapter 5.1.

As with the previous rulers of the Bosphorus, Sauromates placed the emperors' portraits on his coinage, now including bronzes, along with his own bust (Figs.66-67). Often the two appeared on the same side of the coin and at other times Sauromates appears holding a bust of Trajan. It would very much seem that this ruler was emphasising a connection not just to Rome,⁹⁸ but to the person of Trajan. Sauromates is also mentioned in the writings of Pliny the Younger, governor of Bithynia, who records how the king sent embassies to Trajan, whom Pliny allowed to use the *cursus publicus*.

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Scripsit mihi, domine, Lycormas libertus tuus ut, si qua legatio a Bosporo venisset urbem petitura, usque in adventum suum retineretur. Et legatio quidem, dumtaxat in eam civitatem, in qua ipse sum, nulla adhuc venit, sed venit tabellarius Sauromatae <regis>, quem ego usus opportunitate, quam mihi casus obtulerat, cum tabellario qui Lycormam ex itinere praecessit mittendum putavi, ut posses ex Lycormae et regis epistulis pariter cognoscere, quae fortasse pariter scire deberes.

C. Pliny to Emperor Trajan

Your freedman, Lycormas, wrote to me, lord, that if a legate from the Bosphorus came seeking Rome, then he should be detained until his arrival. And that embassy has not come yet, at least in this city in which I am. But a courier came from King Sauromates, which I, using the opportunity which chance offered to me, reckoned to send him with the courier who preceded Lycormas on his journey, so that you could know equally about the letters from Lycormas and the king, which perhaps you should know equally. – Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 10.63.

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Rex Sauromates scripsit mihi esse quaedam, quae deberes quam maturissime scire. Qua ex causa festinationem tabellarii, quem ad te cum epistulis misit, diplomate adiuv.

C. Pliny to Emperor Trajan

King Sauromates wrote to me to say that he has news which you should know as soon as possible. Thus, for this reason I gave the hastening of a dispatch through a diploma, which he sent to you with letters. – Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 10.64.

C. PLINIUS TRAIANO IMPERATORI

Legato Sauromatae regis, cum sua sponte Nicaeae, ubi me invenerat, biduo substitisset, longiorem moram faciendam, domine, non putavi, primum quod

⁹⁸ Sherwin-White (1966) p.649.

incertum adhuc erat, quando libertus tuus Lycormas venturus esset, deinde quod ipse proficiscebar in diversam provinciae partem, ita officii necessitate...

C. Pliny to Emperor Trajan

A legate from king Sauromates met me at Nicaea of his own will, waiting for two days, after which I thought not to make him wait longer, sir, because I was still uncertain when your freedman Lycormas was going to arrive. Then because I was setting forth myself to a different part of the province, as my duty demanded... - Pliny the Younger, *Epistulae*, 10.67.

The texts have been used by scholars to show the administration of the province of Bithynia. They demonstrate that Sauromates had to send his embassies to Trajan via Pliny. Sauromates seems eager to communicate with the emperor – though it is not known what the message was,⁹⁹ - and so was allowed to use the state-monitored communication network. This may indicate that the king and his embassies were held in high regard by the Roman emperor, as permission was needed to travel along the *cursus publicus*. However, the fact that Pliny felt the need to explain why he had allowed the messengers to use the system would seem to suggest that this was not normal practice.¹⁰⁰ Nevertheless, the fact that Sauromates was actively writing to Trajan, coupled with the high number of coin designs from within the Bosporan kingdom displaying Trajan or Hadrian would seem to imply that Sauromates' involvement with Rome and the emperor went beyond simply using *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* as hereditary titles.

However, that does not mean that Sauromates enjoyed a similar close personal friendship with Trajan as Herod the Great had done with the Julio-Claudian family. These texts also hint at a part of international diplomacy that is often hidden in written sources from the period: the use of embassies. As seen in the previous chapter, and here in the accounts of Tacitus, diplomacy was cast as taking place between king and emperor.

However, Augustus' *Res Gestae* mentions embassies being sent to him from kings seeking

⁹⁹ Sherwin-White (1966) p.650 believed that this letter contained news of the movements of the neighbouring Alani.

¹⁰⁰ Sherwin-White (1966) p.650.

amicitia.¹⁰¹ Claude Eilers¹⁰² and the Symmachos project in Spain have been investigating the role of diplomats in ancient international relations. While they do not appear very often, their undeniable existence does support the idea that the ancient world was simply too large for individuals to form close friendships that could then be used for political reasons,¹⁰³ despite what the written sources claim.

Yet, as mentioned above, Sauromates did seem to want to emphasise his connection with Rome on his coinage. The *timai* associated with friendly kings can be seen on his coinage (Fig.65).¹⁰⁴ Indeed, the fact that part of this imagery is a *sella curulis* has led to many scholars seeing these coins as advertising how Sauromates owed his throne to Rome.¹⁰⁵



Figure 65. *Ahokhin* 456. Coin of Sauromates depicting curule chair surmounted by crown, between shield and spear on left and human-headed scepter on right on obverse and MH, denomination within wreath on reverse. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/greece/bosporos/kings/sauromates_l/Ahokhum_456.jpg.

However, this is not the only way to interpret such imagery. It had first appeared under Rhescuporis, so once again, it could also show as a continuation of past traditions as a way to gain legitimacy as outlined by Fowler and Hekster,¹⁰⁶ rather than simply emphasising a relationship with Rome. Furthermore, when Sauromates appears alongside the Roman

¹⁰¹ *Res Gestae*, 31-33.

¹⁰² Eilers (2009) pp.1-13.

¹⁰³ *Contra Wilker* (2008) pp.165-185.

¹⁰⁴ Braund (1984) pp.27-29.

¹⁰⁵ Højberg Bjerg (2014) pp.68-70; Frolova (1979) p.28.

¹⁰⁶ Fowler and Hekster (2005) p.12.

emperor, it is the king's name that appears on the coins rather than imperial titles: Trajan and Hadrian are only pictured (Figs.67-68).



Figure 66. *Anohkin* 339. Stater of Sauromates depicting BACILEWC CAVPOMATOV, diademed and draped bust of Sauromates right on obverse, laureate head of Trajan right on reverse. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/trajan/_bosporus_AVStater_Anokhin_399.jpg.



Figure 67. *Anohkin* 411. Stater of Sauromates depicting BACILEWC CAVPOMATOV, diademed and draped bust of Sauromates right on obverse, laureate head of Hadrian right on reverse. Image from http://www.wildwinds.com/coins/ric/hadrian/_bosporus_AVStater_Anokhin_411.jpg.

Thus, the emphasis on these coins is on Sauromates himself. Although the emperor is present, these coins are not simply showing that the king is a subject of Rome. There is a concern for local traditions there too, as seen in Sauromates' diadem, marking his royal power, as well as his long hair and native cloak.

Sauromates' coins also depicted images of Nike, city gates, prisoners, wreaths and Aphrodite Apatura (Fig.68a-c).



Figure 68a. Coin of Sauromates depicting the king draped and wearing a diadem, left, *TI. IOYΛIOY BΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ* on obverse and a city gate, flanked by two towers with a tree and bound prisoner on the reverse.



b.

Figure 68b. Coin of Sauromates depicting the king's bust draped with a diadem facing the bust of Aphrodite Apatura, *TI. IOYΛIOY BΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ* on obverse and a shield, spear, horse's head, battle axe, helmet and sword, *M H TEIMAI BΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΘΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ* on reverse.



c.

Figure 68c. Coin of Sauromates depicting the king's bust draped with a diadem, right, *TI. IOYΛIOY BΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΣΑΥΡΟΜΑΤΟΥ* on obverse and Nike advancing left holding a palm and wreath. Images from Macdonald (2005) pp.77, 400 (a); 79, 412 (b); 76, 397 (c).

Often the same reverse designs were displayed with either Trajan's or Sauromates' bust on the obverse.¹⁰⁷ The interchangeability of such imagery on these coins would seem to imply that the two rulers were supposed to carry similar weight and authority when depicted, rather than submission. Thus, while kings' yielding to Rome is often highlighted when the

¹⁰⁷ Macdonald (2005) nos. 397 and 403 both depict an advancing Nike with a palm and wreath, but one has the Bosphoran ruler and the other the Roman emperor on the obverse.

emperor's portrait is placed on coins, these other images once again also show a concern with his own kingdom and traditions. The military theme is apparent in the coinage of Sauromates and if the images are studied side by side, the message becomes one of the king as a protector of his people, as seen in city gates, prisoners, arms and Nike. This military concern is mirrored in inscriptions such as in Panticapeum where the king is hailed as victorious over the Scythians.¹⁰⁸ He also has the divine protection of Aphrodite as depicted by Sauromates facing the goddess. The importance of Aphrodite is evident from the high number of dedications set up to her by the people of the Bosphorus, including past kings.¹⁰⁹ The coins of Sauromates show how ideas of Rome, past traditions and military prowess all combine to legitimise his rule. Thus, a friendship with Rome and the emperor was only one part of royal 'ideology' in the region, rather than displaying submission.

6.7: Conclusions

The coinage and epigraphic evidence from the Bosporan kingdom did not merely display a reliance on Rome. In general kings minted money with their own concerns in mind. Coinage from this region, whilst it did feature the emperor, showing Rome's interest and power here, was not completely submissive. A number of Bosporan themes and ideas existed alongside busts of the emperor, such as piety to Aphrodite or dedications to Ares to show the military strength of the king. Rather, these coins were a good way for the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom to demonstrate the friendship with Rome and the emperors which was seen on a number of inscriptions. The combination of concerns between a relationship with Rome and Bosporan traditions on coins mirrors what is seen in the epigraphic evidence, whereby *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* is accompanied by other royal titles and descent typical only to the Bosporan kingdom. Although they may have started in reaction to actions of Roman emperors, such as Tiberius' granting of the crown to Aspurgos

¹⁰⁸ *CIRB*, 32.

¹⁰⁹ Heinen (2008a) p.192: *Βασιλεὺς Ἀσποῦργος φιλορῶμαιος / βασιλέως Ἀσανδρόχου υἱὸς / τὸν Ἐρωτα Ἀφροδείτηι Οὐ-/ρανίαι Ἀπατούρου μεδεοῦ-/σηι χαριστήριον.*

and the king's trip to Rome, the epithets continued as part of Bosporan royal titulature and seemingly this was an accepted norm throughout the kingdom: one hundred and sixteen epigraphic fragments naming the rulers *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* have been found in Panticapeum, Phanagoria and Hermonassa from the first two centuries AD. They did not necessarily imply a personal friendship between the Roman emperor and the Bosporan king in the same way that the Herods of Judaea had the ear of the Roman imperial family. Bosporan rulers all included some relation to Rome in their titles, and many placed the emperors on their coinage. Furthermore, eternal friendships with Rome were being invoked in inscriptions from the second century BC. Bosporan rulers then named themselves as high priests of the imperial family in Rome for life. This all demonstrates that even if the way a relationship with Rome was expressed varied, the relationship itself was a constant and seemingly, Rome was acknowledged as eternal.¹¹⁰

The associations with Rome and the intensity of the interference from the emperors in this region increased and decreased over time, which can also be seen in the epigraphic evidence as more titles and practices were added. This is also reflected in the writings of Arrian following the death of Sauromates' son, Cotys II, when the statesman prompted Hadrian to take an interest in the region (See Chapter 2). However, the Bosporan traditions of naming ancestors and honours granted to individuals continued throughout this period. Therefore, *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* and their development help to show how the people of the Bosporan kingdom navigated the change from the Roman Republic to the Principate. These titles were not immediately created for Augustus and his family, as the inscriptions from the reign of Dynamis show the emperor and his wife were honoured as saviours and benefactors, as was traditional in the region. Relations with Rome remained mostly positive: individual kings or queens of the Bosphorus may have sought personal relationships with the Roman emperors, as described by Tacitus, depending on the

¹¹⁰ Benoist (2016) pp.46-47.

circumstances. For instance, Claudius helped Cotys gain the throne from his brother and Sauromates was very keen to communicate with Trajan, but at other times, *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* became part of the Bosporan royal titulature rather than implying any close individual relationship with the Roman emperor. This is seen in their inclusion in everyday documents such as manumission lists as dating formulae. While diplomatic friendships can be seen in every part of the Roman world,¹¹¹ *philo-* titles were being worked into the local traditions. For instance, they were balanced with the Bosporan rulers' ancestry, explaining where their power comes from, and the fact that queens are also mentioned on several inscriptions in the region is also a relatively local phenomenon. Thus, just because diplomatic *amicitia* was a seemingly global phenomenon, it does not mean that it could not have local understandings and expressions.

¹¹¹ Benoist (2016) p.52.

Chapter 7: Conclusions

This thesis has sought to examine how the Roman state would interact with and represent the peoples who lived along and beyond the frontiers of the Roman Empire in the first two centuries AD. The main questions explored were: how did past representations of the people who lived to the north of the Danube and Black Sea influence how they were presented in the literature and artwork of the Roman Empire? How did people who lived within the Roman Empire learn about or present their northern neighbours beyond geographical texts? How did individuals' own experiences and contact with these societies alter their understanding of such representations, and how did this influence future representations? How did people from these societies represent themselves? How did past contact between the Roman state and the societies of the Danubian-Pontic regions affect future contacts? And how did peoples who lived beyond the frontiers represent their relationship with Rome? It has built on the work of Claude Nicolet and Danielle Dueck to explore how the political background could influence the presentation of geographical knowledge, as well as new ways in which geographical knowledge could be presented in the ancient world. It has used International Relations theories, namely Social Constructivism, to demonstrate that how societies have been presented in the past, and the Roman state's past contact with them, could influence any future contacts.

Chapter 2 demonstrated that just as the surviving geographical texts show a lack of 'accurate' or consistent knowledge about the physical landscape of the Danubian-Pontic regions, so too was there no one clear presentation of its inhabitants. It instead depended upon the genre of the literature and the interests and experiences of the author, as well as past ideas about this region which were influenced by the Greek historians and

geographers. While Dionysius of Alexandria and Arrian of Nicomedia were writing at roughly the same time in the early to mid-second century AD, their intentions and genres greatly changed how the people of the region, and the world itself, were represented. Dionysius, a poet, showed concern with balance and contrast and so presented the Danube as a limit between the civilized people to the south who live in cities, and the uncivilized tribes to the north. However, he went on to show that such characterisations were not always so clear-cut. He described the region as full of people yet did not recognise the authority of the Roman state when creating artificial boundaries in the world, arguing instead that the world was laid out by the gods who were the only ones who could know about all peoples. This worldview is in direct contrast to Arrian who made comments about the extent of Roman mastery in the Black Sea region and gave a very clear physical end to this power. His concerns with the people who lived along the north coast of the Black Sea were seemingly directly linked to Roman hegemonic power as he argued that he had included a description of the region should the emperor Hadrian wish to invade following the death of King Cotys of the Bosphorus. Therefore, his interest in the region was linked to contemporary events and concerns far more obviously than Dionysius of Alexandria's work.

Dionysius was heavily influenced by Homeric catalogues and poetry and used cultural memory to show that the region to the north was full of peoples, whose bellicose nature need not necessarily be a bad thing. Meanwhile, Arrian's writings show the practical concerns of dealing with foreign peoples, as well as a way to use 'barbaric' customs to define what it was to be both a Greek and a Roman in the second century AD. These aims affected how Arrian portrayed his foreign peoples, and also raised questions of who could be a barbarian: it was not simply people who existed outside what Arrian saw as the militaristic Roman Empire. Dionysius, heavily influenced by Homeric writings, used archaic terminology and tales to cast the people of the northern regions as warlike, but also bold and mighty, rather than a threat. It was not simply the case that those outside the Empire

were dangerous warlike barbarians while those who lived inside were civilized. Dionysius' reliance on cultural memory, demonstrated through simple epithets for the peoples he described, as well as the reliance on Herodotus and past Greek authors in other texts from this period, show that such mythologies played a key role in the presentation of both geographical knowledge and the peoples of the known world during the second century AD.

Yet both authors relied on past tales about the region to achieve their aims. Dionysius placed the Dacians and Alani on the same level as the Neuri described by Herodotus. Arrian also recalled tales by Herodotus, but openly cited the past historian in order to demonstrate his knowledge of Greek culture and history, whereas Dionysius relied upon his audience already having that knowledge. Thus, past and present intertwined when representing this region.

Chapters 3 and 4 have then turned to other ways in which knowledge about the world could be represented or passed on to the inhabitants of the Mediterranean. Their focus has extended from the monumental architecture of cities of the Roman world, to everyday artwork set up by its inhabitants in the form of tombstones and dedications, to everyday documents created by the Roman state in the form of Roman military diplomas. This has allowed different creators and audiences to be considered. However, these were obviously not the only media which could inform people about their world or the people who inhabited it, or the only surviving source material which can show modern audiences what the people of the ancient world believed about their surroundings. Studies of physical maps or mosaics which depict cities, or allegories of places and peoples are another avenue. There are also everyday items used by individuals, such as the Staffordshire *paterna*

or the Rudge Cup which list the forts along Hadrian's Wall. Such objects provide alternative ways in which the world was presented beyond geographic literature.

Chapter 3 has attempted to reconsider the messages and ideas which the audiences of monuments such as the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias or the Hadrianeum in Rome could take away from these complexes which display personified allegories of the people of the ancient world. To do so, the chapter has endeavoured to move away from close visual study of individual allegories, which are now in many different museums at eye height for visitors, and so far-removed from their original settings. Instead, it has attempted to recreate the sensory experience of monumental artwork and complexes depicting allegories of the people who made up the world, in order to understand how they could inform their audiences about the *oikoumene*. It examined the experience of users of the Sebasteion in Aphrodisias, and the Hadrianeum in Rome and focus has been on recreating the overall impression of the monuments as a whole. This means that how the space was used in ancient times becomes more important.

Both the Sebasteion and Hadrianeum take the form of porticoes with allegories far above them. They are also both temple complexes, linked to the worship of the Roman emperor, Rome, or the imperial family. Thus, the chapter has considered the experience of a religious procession and how the architecture of the Sebasteion seems concerned with directing the kinetic and sensory stimuli towards the act of the sacrifice to the Roman emperor, the town's goddess, and the imperial family, overseen by the peaceful allegories who made up the world, or images of the emperor defeating barbarians. In this setting, the peaceful allegories with exceedingly similar dress and poses are all too visually similar for the audiences to make out any clear attributes or different stature. Thus, the repetition of this peaceful pose, opposite repeated imagery of the emperor being victorious over barbarians along the ninety metre processional way, which the participants would have

known would end with sacrifices to the emperor and Aphrodite, must have served to reinforce ideas about the strength of the emperor in both peace and war, rather than making comments about how the people who lived in Aphrodisias saw one society compared to another based on subtle differences in drapery. However, religious processions were not daily and would have created a very different experience to when people would use the porticoes for leisure, or as a thoroughfare en route to business elsewhere in the city. If used for leisure, people in the space would have had time to examine the artworks and notice the differences, in a way they probably would not be able to consider when travelling with an idea to reach one's destination, in which people would be distracted.

The chapter has then used the Hadrianeum in Rome to demonstrate how, when allegories had attributes, audiences were capable of attempting some form of *ecphrasis* in order to gain ideas about the world. However, ancient audiences would not have had access to source material from across the breadth of the Roman Empire, as modern scholars do. Instead they would have had to rely on their own experiences, or iconography seen in their immediate surrounding. Thus, while past scholars have attempted to link the personified allegories on the Hadrianeum to the contemporary province coin series, another possibility is that the peoples depicted there were not recognised by everyone, but that the audiences tried to identify them based on their own knowledge and experiences. This means that the Divine Hadrian, to whom the temple complex was dedicated, was given the power of knowledge of the whole world over which Rome ruled, in a way which his subjects were not.

The fact that the Hadrianeum in Rome is placed in the Campus Martius also brings the role of the Roman army and the captured arms to the forefront, in a way which was previously ignored by Toynbee or Hinks' examination of the monument. It closely links the

role of the Roman army and warfare to knowledge of the world, and it is not necessarily clear whether the people depicted have been conquered by Rome or are helping to defend the empire. As with the literature, it was clearly not the case that all peoples who were not Roman were instantly warlike barbarians who should either be feared or captured. The idea of Roman military strength is ever present in such surviving allegorical presentations, but it is not always clear on which side of it Rome's neighbours would stand.

The chapter has then turned to an examination of attributes as a way to identify people who lived to the north of the Danube. It has demonstrated that the use of the Dacian lupine standard in artwork changed based on whether the artist creating it had contact with the Dacian and Sarmatian peoples, or whether other monuments were being copied. Although it first appeared in official artwork as a way to show Trajan's victories over the Dacians, it was then transformed into a symbol of generic barbarian defeat, as seen by its inclusion in the Column of Marcus Aurelius, which had little to do with the Dacian population.

Chapter 4 has then examined alternative ways in which individuals' and the Roman state's geographic knowledge and conceptions can be traced. Everyday documents such as tombstones, dedications, or military diplomas, allowed the people of the Roman world to learn of, and express their contact with their foreign neighbours. It has studied how the Dacian people were presented across these documents and shown that their presentation in terms of character, status and location, was determined by the time, the aims of the creator, and the type of contact with the Daci. The spread of tombstones or dedications listing honours won by successful soldiers in Dacian campaigns would not have told audiences much about this enemy. Instead, it would have sent messages about the strength of the soldiers who had defeated them, and reinforced ideas seen in Rome under Augustus and Trajan, that the Dacian people had been defeated. Yet from the time of

Vespasian, individuals whom the Roman state identified as Daci were being admitted into the Roman army. The onomastics and the find spots of these diplomas support the idea that the Dacians at this time were not fixed to the north of the Danube, as claimed in Augustus' *Res Gestae* and later in Trajan's Column. Once the Roman state had the power to define where the Dacians were, depictions began to change. Daci moving around the Roman world show that there was no one universal depiction of these people, despite being presented on Trajan's Column as bellicose, but ultimately defeated, wolf warriors. They could integrate into different societies at different levels: be that slave, freedman, soldier or Roman citizen. How they then chose to present themselves, or were presented, depended upon individual aims and experiences, as well as desires both to fit in with local surroundings and traditions, and to retain one's original identity. Some were able to forge new identities as members of groups such as soldiers, whilst others were marked out as 'the Other' through social status as well as their origin. This is seen well in the tombstone of Scorillo in modern-day Hungary. He is marked out as being *ex natione Dacus*, yet the rest of his tomb is in keeping with the local traditions in Pannonia: he is depicted as part of a nuclear family on a large limestone slab and with scenes of agriculture and wagons, as was popular in the region. His origin is noted, but it is not the defining feature which made up his identity. A desire to appear 'Roman' or as a citizen was not the only goal newly conquered people could aim for, and 'Roman' culture was not the only one with which they could interact to form their identity.

The previous chapters have shown that there was no one clear way in which literature, artwork or documents depicted the world in Roman times, or the peoples who lived in the Danubian-Pontic regions. This was a constantly evolving system and very much depended upon the context or location of the monument or writing, the audience's engagement or knowledge, the genre of the literature, the interests of the author, and the experiences and contacts of the individuals involved.

Chapter 5 has examined diplomatic relations between Rome and its northern neighbours and how the creation of the Roman Principate led to a shift in how the surviving sources would depict diplomatic *amicitia*. Friendships became more ‘personal’ towards the end of the Republic, and this naturally accelerated when Rome was personified by one man. Literary sources emphasise the relationship between two individuals, which means that the morals of a good friend as outlined by Cicero and Seneca come to the forefront. *Fides* was a key part of diplomatic friendships, and so when individuals failed to act in a trustworthy manner, this could have repercussions. As seen in Cassius Dio’s description of Domitian’s dealings with Decebalus, depictions of the emperor’s personality was intrinsically tied to the representation of Rome’s relationship with the Dacians, at least retroactively. However, the writings of Pliny the Younger suggest that there were criticisms of his actions under Trajan as well. This in turn affected how Trajan chose to deal with the same nation: because Domitian was being criticised for his conduct with Decebalus, and because the soldiers had used the Dacians as a way to proclaim their own personal victories, Trajan did not attempt to pursue a diplomatic friendship. Instead, he waged war. While this was probably not the only motivation for Trajan’s wars, it certainly could have finessed the situation. It can be seen that morals did play a role in ancient diplomacy, and that how people were presented could affect a state’s dealings with them.

Yet not all friendships were ‘personal.’ While eastern kings took the title *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi*, the Latin sources show that the Roman emperors could also form friendships with whole communities. Many texts and inscriptions describe how the emperor made a friend of whole nations throughout the Principate. Often this was done by ‘granting’ a king to them, as claimed in the *SHA* and the *Res Gestae*. However, this was also a way to show Rome’s power and it was evidently a key part of victory, as Domitian

attempted to crown the emissary, Diegis as if he were the king. The coins minted in Rome often depict the emperor in a much higher position in comparison to the king, but one minted under Antoninus Pius shows the emperor and ruler both with outstretched right hands. This was a universally acknowledged gesture of trust and friendship throughout the world and throughout history when it came to diplomatic dealings. Therefore, Rome could be depicted both as powerful and as trusting in foreign neighbours.

Not all neighbouring rulers were granted or used the title *amicus sociusque populi Romani*, or *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos*. However, that does not mean that the Roman state dealt with them in a vastly different way. Gift exchanges were still depicted as common in the fourth century AD and according to the *SHA*, rulers were expected to show the *gratia* associated with *amicitia* for such gifts or favours. Relationships could be formed between emperors and kings, kings and the Roman people, or emperors and peoples. The language and practices of *amicitia* were still in use, regardless of whether or not a title existed. The exchange of gifts, services, favours or hostages was seemingly a universally understood phenomenon and these existing practices were key to Roman victory, defeat, and maintaining order. They were an effective way to help make seemingly exotic and foreign peoples more relatable, thus, challenging the notion of ‘the Other’ in these parts and encouraging audiences to view them more as ‘us’.

Of course, there is much more research which could be done into this topic. How the diplomatic embassies who helped facilitate personal *amicitia* relationships were represented in the surviving sources is an interesting subject. The Symmachos project in Spain is currently attempting to reconstruct the roles of ‘diplomats’ in Rome’s international relations in the Republic and this looks for universally understood practices which would aid negotiations. The *Amici Populi Romani* project, based at Waterloo, is constantly updating a database of all official ‘friends’ of the Roman state up until the Flavian times,

which raises questions as to how neighbouring friendly kings came by this title. As demonstrated in chapter 6, there is still much debate around this topic. However, the project does not consider the role of *amicitia* relationships when dealing with rulers who were not yet seen as friends. This was a very useful tool in making Rome's rivals into neighbours.

Chapter 6 has moved outside the Roman Empire to examine neighbouring views of Rome. Although this is not the easiest task, the chapter has examined the coinage and epigraphic evidence from the Bosporan kingdom to argue that when Rome appeared in kingly titles and iconography, this was not evidence for a simple reliance on Rome. In general kings minted money with their own concerns in mind. Coinage from this region, whilst it did feature the emperor, showing Rome's interest and power here, was not completely submissive. A number of Bosporan themes and ideas existed alongside busts of the emperor, such as Mithridatic iconography, piety to Aphrodite or dedications to Ares to show the military strength of the king. Rather, these coins were a good way for the rulers of the Bosporan kingdom to demonstrate the friendship with Rome and the emperors which was seen on a number of inscriptions. The combination of concerns between a relationship with Rome and Bosporan traditions on coins mirrors what is seen in the epigraphic evidence, whereby *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* is accompanied by other royal titles and descent typical only to the Bosporan kingdom. Although they may have started in reaction to actions of Roman emperors, such as Tiberius' granting of the crown to Aspurgos and the king's trip to Rome, the epithets continued as part of Bosporan royal titulature and seemingly this was an accepted norm throughout the kingdom: one hundred and sixteen epigraphic fragments naming the rulers *philokaisar kai philorhomaioi* have been found in Panticapeum, Phanagoria and Hermonassa from the first two centuries AD. They did not

necessary imply a personal friendship between the Roman emperor and the Bosporan king in the same way which the Herods of Judaea had the ear of the Roman imperial family.

The associations with Rome and the intensity of the interference from the emperors in this region increased and decreased over time, which can also be seen in the epigraphic evidence as more titles and practices were added. But the Bosporan traditions of naming ancestors and honours granted to individuals continued throughout this period. Therefore, *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* and their development help show how the people of the Bosporan kingdom navigated the change from the Roman Republic to the Principate. Relations with Rome remained mostly positive: individual kings or queens of the Bosporan kingdom may have sought personal relationships with the Roman emperors, as described by Tacitus, depending on the circumstances. For instance, Claudius helped Cotys gain the throne from his brother and Sauromates was very keen to communicate with Trajan, but at other times, *philokaisar kai philorhomaïos* became part of the Bosporan royal titulature rather than implying any close individual relationship with the Roman emperor. This is seen in their inclusion in everyday documents such as manumission lists as dating formulae. While diplomatic friendships can be seen in every part of the Roman world, these *philo-* titles are being worked into the local traditions. For instance, they are balanced with the Bosporan rulers' ancestry, explaining where their power comes from, and the fact that queens are also mentioned on several inscriptions in the region is also a relatively local phenomenon. Thus, just because diplomatic *amicitia* was a seemingly global phenomenon, it does not mean that it could not have local understandings and expressions.

This thesis has demonstrated that it was not simply the case that a 'growing fear' of the other can be seen in Roman artwork, nor that representations of the people who lived between the Danube and north littoral of the Black Sea were simply full of inconsistencies.

There were many factors which would influence how Rome's neighbours were represented, and how people would react to this. Geographic literature or allegorical personifications were not the only ways people of the ancient world could learn of their neighbours. Many other types of evidence exist. Furthermore, such representations were both influenced by, and could influence the type of contact taking place. Literature and artwork often depict the people to the north of the Danube and along the north of the Black Sea as 'the Other' or 'barbarians'. However, official *amicitia* relationships between Roman emperors and foreign kings, and previous foes serving in the Roman army and settling in new provinces show that there was in fact much being done to transform 'them' more into 'us.'

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